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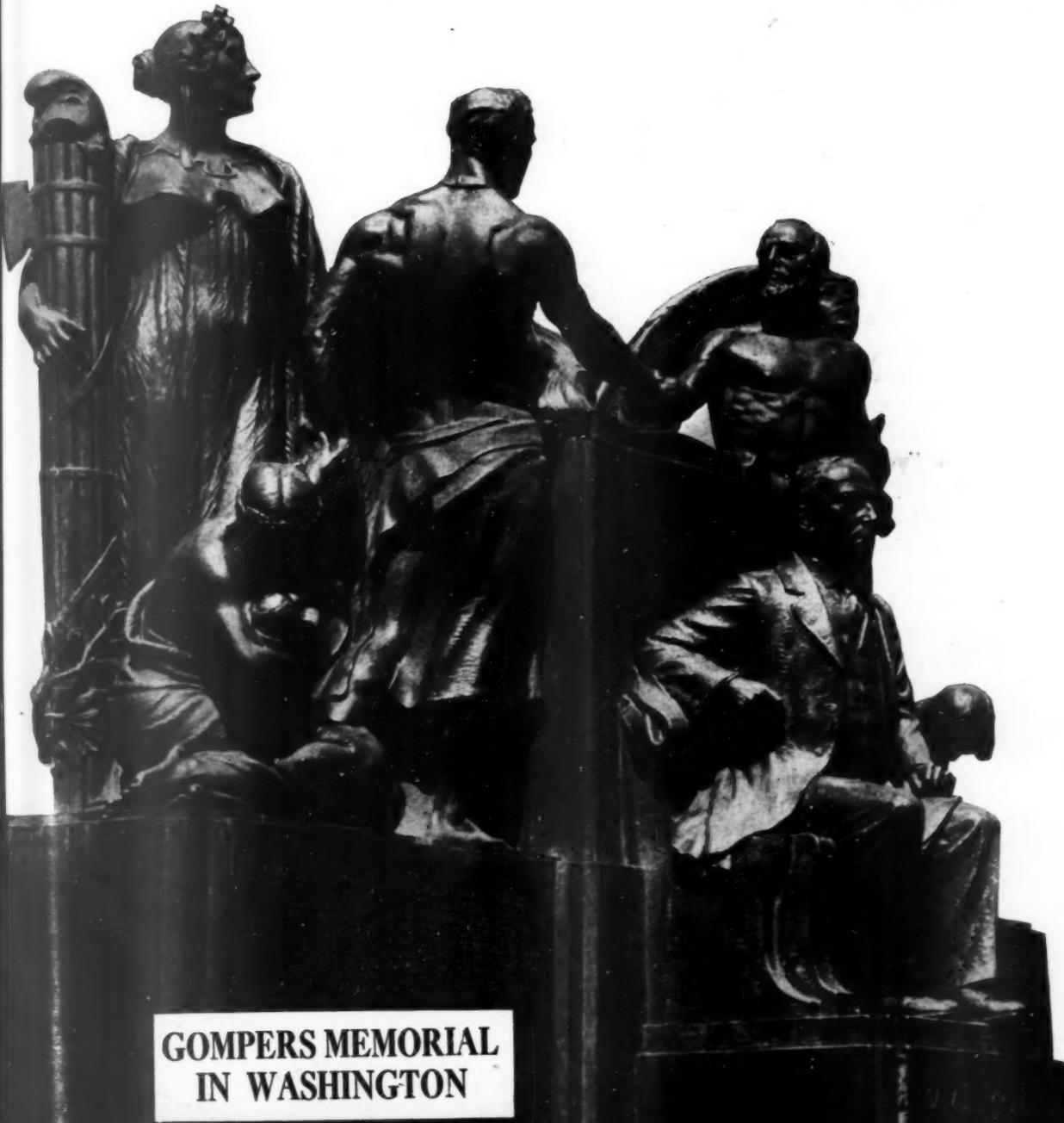
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The American **FEDERATIONIST**

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GOMPERS MEMORIAL
IN WASHINGTON

We Must Stand United Against the Common Foe

By WILLIAM GREEN

ONCE AGAIN the free nations of the world are engaged in a bitter struggle with the forces of communism and totalitarianism, which threaten destruction of the free way of life to which we as Americans are definitely committed.

When the Communist forces of North Korea crossed the Thirty-eighth Parallel and invaded the area of South Korea, it was a warlike gesture. It thrust the United Nations into a defensive campaign against the forces of invasion.

Almost before the sounds of the first battle in Korea died away, the American Federation of Labor publicly announced that our position, as always, would be on the side of our government and the United Nations. Our country can rely on us for complete cooperation and support in time of international crisis.

We would prefer that conflict be avoided or, if it had to come, that the workers of America could exercise their full constitutional rights in the conduct of their organizational affairs. But whether economically free or hampered by repressive laws, the loyal American wage-earners will put aside their grievances and stand shoulder to shoulder with our nation against aggression and against any and all threats to our national safety.

There is little to be gained now by calling attention to the fact that the American Federation of Labor has been warning for years against the threat to the world posed by the spread of communism. We recognized Soviet Russia as a potential foe long ago, and the officers of the American Federation of Labor did all we could to bring pressure

to bear against what we knew to be a growing menace to freedom and peace. Events have proved the truth of our contentions. Now we are faced with the possibility of all-out war for the preservation of the ideals for which we stand.

It is imperative now that all Americans, regardless of race, creed, economic status or political beliefs, shall be united, for we have a common foe. Moreover, we must point out to other nations where freedom still prevails the vital need for them also to stand united against the forces that would enslave all of us. This is indeed a worldwide struggle for the preservation of peace and democracy.

The American Federation of Labor is deeply concerned that our nation's defense and mobilization program shall have the full support of all groups. We know that the support of no segment of our economy is more vital to the success of this program than that of America's workers. Everything possible is being done and will be done to present a united front of all organized workers in support of our country.

We are not unmindful of the sacrifices which the defense of peace and freedom may entail. We may have temporary setbacks and grave problems to overcome. I know, however, that America's workers will be found in the forefront of all patriotic groups.

We are going to give all-out support to our nation, regardless of the cost to ourselves, until victory is ours.

In time of international crisis we will act as one with our country. In this spirit, we face the future unafraid.

The American FEDERATIONIST

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DECEMBER, 1950

WILLIAM GREEN, *Editor*

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Be Humble

I always have kept before my mind the sign or statement, "The more humble, the more honorable." I always like to think of the words of Kipling to his son: "If you can walk with the crowds and keep your virtue, or talk with kings nor lose the common touch." I like to repeat those words.

I hate snobs. I hate bombastic, accidental monstrosities that in all branches of American life once in a while make their appearance.

I like the man who has not lost the common touch and, no matter how much he disagrees with you in the afternoon sessions, can meet you when the day is over and shake your hand and say a word of encouragement.

If we could keep this in front of us in our offices or in our discussions, we who believe we are important, many of us who could in truth be considered labor accidents, it would bring us down to earth. We can get nowhere without our friends, either within our organization or in our everyday life.

We should keep telling ourselves daily that you are here today and you may think you are important, but tomorrow, next year or the year after you will be forgotten and other men, in other days, will carry the banner that has fallen from your hands.

"Only the good that men do lives after they are gone."

"The more humble the more honorable."
We are cogs upon the wheels of time.

So be honest. Improve your mind. Never quit reading and learning. Make friends.

Remember, tomorrow you may be forgotten. As night falls, look over the passing day and rest with the thought that you have done something helpful, that somehow during the past day you made friends.

—Daniel J. Tobin.

THIS MONTH'S COVER

The impressive Samuel Gompers Memorial in the nation's capital is situated on famous Massachusetts Avenue a block away from the American Federation of Labor Building.

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EVERY SECOND COUNTS

We Must Rebuild Our Strength Very Quickly

THE gravest challenge in history now confronts the American people. Communist Russia, armed to the teeth, is moving against the non-Communist world. The goal, as always since the Communist gang seized power by violence in Russia thirty-three years ago, is conquest and domination of all the nations and all the peoples of the earth. The No. 1 target is the United States, champion of the free way of life which shows up totalitarian communism for the tremendous fraud that it is.

At the moment Communist Russia is acting through her junior partner in crime against humanity, Communist China. Stalin has other puppets ready to kill, burn and enslave whenever he decides to twitch the strings. Many countries are in great peril. Stalin has huge Soviet armies at his command, a tremendous air force, the atom bomb. His own essential industry, unlike ours, is widely dispersed and hidden. He has his covetous eyes on Western Europe, on the oilfields of the Middle East, on India and Latin America. Of all the countries that he plans to conquer, the one he most wants to crush is our own great and free United States.

Where will the Communists move next? When will they strike next? Will they roll against Western Europe first? Will they bomb us? It is anyone's guess. Only Stalin and his fellow-gangsters in the Kremlin know the answers. But so long as the Communists' military strength is enormous and that of the free world tragically puny, the likelihood of further Communist aggression and the danger of the defeat and enslavement of all democratic nations continue very great.

The time has arrived for very plain talk. If we want to survive, there is no time whatsoever to be lost. Just as quickly as possible, with every loyal American rendering the maximum service where he is most needed, with all secondary objectives graciously granting priority to the most important task in our history, we must build up our armed strength. Just as quickly as possible, we must establish equality in military potency with our ruthless enemy and then surge far ahead of him.

So long as we remain relatively weak and unprepared, the Red Fascists will be tempted to move again and again, to gobble up more defenseless countries or even to dump atom bombs on our large and exposed industrial cities. So long as we remain relatively weak, no realistic American or citizen of any other non-Communist country can justifiably feel secure.

Once we have rebuilt our strength, the situation will be entirely different. Then Communist Russia will know that the day of "easy victories" is over. The Communists may decide to commit new aggressions anyway, but if they do, the free world will then be in a position to repel the aggressors and make them rue their murderous deeds. More likely, the existence of overpowering American strength, ready to destroy the Communists if they make but one foul move, will suffice to persuade the Reds to be-

have. Stalin and his henchmen are slave-masters, murderers and bullies. Words never deter a bully. But he is always profoundly impressed by strength capable of smashing him.

Without question, the imperative task facing the United States and the American people is the rebuilding of our military strength. Every American must cooperate wholeheartedly. There will be many dull jobs, many unpleasant jobs, many dangerous jobs. All of these jobs will have to be done. Not only our precious liberty, not only our lofty principles and ideals, but our very lives—yes, our very lives—depend upon every American citizen's now rolling up his sleeves and getting into the fight with all his ability, with all his strength.

We probably have far less time to get ready to defend ourselves than we did in 1940. There's not a minute to be wasted. Let's get going!

Bates on Wage Board

A. F. of L. Vice-President Harry C. Bates was appointed by President Truman last month as one of three labor members of the new Wage Stabilization Board in the Economic Stabilization Agency. Mr. Bates is president of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union.

There are two other labor members of the Board, which is expected to become a most important agency as mobilization is stepped up. There are also three public members and three management members. Besides Mr. Bates, the labor members are Elmer E. Walker, vice-president of the International Association of Machinists, and Emil Rieve, president of the C.I.O. Textile Workers.

Federal Mediation Director Cyrus S. Ching is chairman of the Wage Stabilization Board. The other public members are John Dunlop, Harvard University professor and chairman of the National Joint Board for Settlement of Jurisdictional Disputes (in building), and Clark Kerr, University of California professor.

The Board held its first meeting November 28. The agency was created



by the Defense Production Act. The director of the Economic Stabilization Agency is Alan Valentine, former president of the University of Rochester. The cost of living is now at a record high, with prices running away from the working man's ability to buy.

Mr. Truman has also named a price administrator, also called for by the Defense Production Act. He is M. V. D'Amato, former mayor of Toledo, Ohio.

ASIA's Revolution

By RICHARD DEVERALL

A. F. of L. Free Trade Union Committee Representative in Asia

A VERITABLE revolution has in successive stages swept the vast area of Asia, an Asia comprehending over half of the world's population.

For centuries most of the peoples of Asia were under the domination of European colonial powers. The Dutch in Indonesia, the French in Indo-China and other smaller areas, the British in India, Burma, Malaya, Ceylon, North Borneo—over half of the people of Asia lived under the rule of white *sahibs* who were more detested the longer they remained.

The Japanese faced invasion by European colonial powers in the early Seventeenth Century, but Japan closed her doors to the world and not until 1853 did the American Commodore Perry knock at the door and receive permission to establish relations with the hitherto iron-curtained little land of Nippon. Japan thus remained free from alien domination as did the little land called Thailand (Siam), which is surrounded by Indo-China, Burma and Malaya.

The Philippines in 1898 passed from Spanish colonial rule to control by the United States, but the Americans at once sent school teachers to the Philippines and, unlike the other subject peoples of Asia, the people of the Philippines were educated and, as promised by the United States, later became an independent nation.

In 1885 the Indian Congress Party was formed. By 1900 agitation had begun in India for an increasing measure of self-government. In 1904, Japan sneak-attacked Russia, and by 1905 Japan had won a smashing victory over Russia. To Asia the victory of Japan was a signal defeat of a white European power by an Asian colored power. The thrill of the vic-

tory inspired Asian nationalist leaders like Pandit Nehru of India to dream of the emancipation of the hundreds of millions of workers and peasants in their countries.

Japan, however, embarked on her own imperial adventures and in 1910 annexed Korea. The Great War came, and the historic message of Woodrow Wilson enunciating the doctrine of the self-determination of nations fired the imaginations of the people of Asia. In 1919 the Korean people rose up in an abortive revolt, issued a Declaration of Independence modeled on the American document, but were butchered by the Japanese military. In India, Mahatma Gandhi returned from South Africa to take up the cause of Indian freedom and lead the crusade establishing the human dignity of Indians on a par with the white man.

Until the time of the Pacific War, however, the European powers remained over Asia. Not until Tojo swept over Southeast Asia with the slogan "Asia for the Asiatics" was the end of an age in sight. With Japan defeated, the European powers returning to the Indo-China, Malaya, Burma and Indonesia found it difficult to reestablish their old colonial rule. And in India the revolt of the Indian navy and the widespread civil disobedience campaigns indicated to the British Labor government that the end was in sight. India was given her freedom by the Attlee government, as were Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan.

In many of these countries, where illiteracy is so widespread that the typical peasant can neither read nor write, the leaders of the resurgent nationalist movements were intellectuals, college professors, lawyers and newspapermen. Around them, as victory came closer, came the busi-

nessman, the indigenous capitalist and the horde of moneylenders who saw in the exit of the white man a magnificent opportunity to cash in on the new freedom.

The Asian revolution therefore comprehends in its first phase the elimination of European or alien colonial rule in Asia and the creation in those countries of indigenous governments based on control by the literate and intellectual leaders, the businessmen, the landlords and the moneylenders. The combination varies from one Asian country to another, but the generalization has a basic validity.

HOW ABOUT the Asian trade union movement? Has the vision of a dynamic and free trade union movement risen to beckon the peasants and workers to build their economic strength so that they may play their role in their own governance?

In 1890 a group of young Japanese went to San Francisco, returning several years later, after they had studied the American Federation of Labor in the Bay Area, to found in Japan the Society for the Promotion of Trade Unions. The Japanese labor movement grew slowly. It was severely repressed by the police in 1900 and again in 1925-1926 it faced severe police repression. As the militarists came to power the Japanese trade union movement was slugged, and it was practically dissolved in 1940.

It was not until 1945, after defeat in war, that Japan's trade unions came back to life. Today the mighty 7,000,000-strong Japanese trade union movement has ejected Communist termites and is the most powerful trade union movement in the Orient.

In the Philippines, likewise, the trade unions first appeared at the

turn of the century, but it was not until after the Pacific War that strong and militant non-Communist trade unions developed on the island of Luzon to defend the weak and the oppressed from predatory capital and arrogant plantation owners.

The Indian trade union movement was given its first real start during 1919 when Mahatma Gandhi led a mighty textile strike in India's historic Ahmedabad. Gandhi went on a hunger strike and was largely responsible for a perfect strike discipline. A generous wage increase was eventually won for the textile workers. Trade union organization in India, however, was subservient to political control—excepting Gandhi's unions—and this was perfectly natural in view of the fact that, until India became free, the labor movement was a part of the struggle to drive the British out of the country.

Since freedom has come to India, the Indian National Trade Union Congress has been sponsored by the Congress Party that is the government of India. The old Indian Federation of Labor has joined hands with the Indian Socialists to form the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, which led the recent Bombay textile strike—one of India's most dramatic and significant labor disputes.

Trade union organizations were developed in Ceylon, Indonesia, Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Hong Kong, China and elsewhere, but nowhere were the unions really free of political control. At the end of the war, as the World Federation of Trade Unions gathered momentum, new trade union organizations mushroomed in such countries as Malaya, but the obvious Communist inspiration of the W.F.T.U. warned Asia that the W.F.T.U. was but the advance agent of Communist guerrilla warfare.

In several Asian countries the W.F.T.U.-directed unions in 1947-1948 led disastrous general strikes. Worker disillusionment of government repression put the W.F.T.U. on the spot, and by 1949 the W.F.T.U. throughout Asia had crashed.

As China's mainland was brought behind the Iron Curtain, non-Communist Chinese labor leaders escaped to Formosa, where they now function as the Free China Labor League. Inside Red China, reports indicate that everyone is joining a "trade union"—a W.F.T.U. union of, by and for the

government of Communist China!

Trade union growth in Asia has been spotty, but in India and Japan the labor movements are developing a sound economic base.

The weak trade unions of Southeast Asia need help from the older trade unions of the world. Certainly American labor can appreciate fully the problems confronting Asian labor.

The United States was once a small group of colonies and dependencies ruled from abroad by the Dutch, the Spanish, the French and the British. The American Revolution was a liberation war fought by the farmers, workers and intellectuals but, as we know, during the immediate postwar period the new nation was generally ruled by rich men, lawyers, doctors and intellectuals. The aristocrats of the period held that only "the rich, the well-born and the able" were fit to rule. One reason Hamilton and others could hold such views was the simple fact that at that time most workers and farmers were illiterate. That weakness of the workers and farmers,

the colonial system as it once existed in this country. The aristocratic planters who settled in the South developed large plantations to produce cash crops of cotton, rice and tobacco. The slave labor harvested the cotton, which was then shipped to England for fabrication into cotton textiles to be sold back to the Americans. There were then few factories in this country, and many American raw materials were shipped to Europe and later returned as manufactured goods.

From the time of Hamilton the policy of our government was to build up manufactures in the United States and thus bring to an end the colonial dependence of the United States on Europe. By the 1880s that dependence was largely broken. But the American people remained illiterate to a surprising extent, and in the face of native illiteracy came the rise of immigration from abroad. How wise were such union men as Samuel Gompers and Peter J. McGuire, who apprehended the need of the time—*the conquest of illiteracy*. Step by step,



In many countries agriculture is primitive and hunger prevalent

coupled with the slow expansion of the frontiers to the West, was a block to extensive trade union organization.

The slave labor system of the South was fought by the early unions of the first half of the last century, for free American labor then as now knew that labor could never achieve its human dignity half slave and half free. The tragic War Between the States legally ended slavery in the United States and at the same time pushed the American people along the road to industrialization.

Perhaps we forget, but the slave labor system was part and parcel of

the American Federation of Labor fought the fight for free public education; and ultimately workers went to grammar school, then to high school and today many American workers send their sons and daughters to the colleges and universities.

As we developed literacy and national unity we were able to build unions more rapidly. Today it is a growing march of organization that contains the strongest and most financially sound trade unions in the world. And this great organization of labor has played a dynamic role in the development of an industrial



RUTHLESS RED AGGRESSION NOW IMPERILS ASIA'S DESIRE TO BE FREE

America that not only feeds and clothes her own children but can and does give aid to other countries, including the country that ruled us in the colonial times of long ago.

In their rise to a higher standard of living, America's organized workers have developed credit unions to put an end to usury. They have developed cooperatives to make wages go further in their purchasing power. They have developed voluntary hospital and health plans and other free and voluntary schemes to advance the well-being of the people who toil.

The United States has shifted from a colonial economy dependent on Europe to an economy that is self-sufficient in its basic requirements for food and industry. This country has developed a progressive democracy in which the common man—literate and politically conscious to an increasing degree—plays a part in his own government. The working people of America have developed a free trade union movement that fights consistently for economic justice, for social justice and for political decency and wholesome national policies.

Returning to Asia, we find a vast area of the world that is now embarking on the adventure that was America's after 1776. Asia seeks to break the hold of colonial chains.

The plantations of Asia are worked by semi-slave laborers who toil for shockingly low wages. The pens which once housed slave laborers in the American Southland today house the workers of plantation Asia—and in Asia plantation workers form the bulk of the labor force in every country except China and Japan.

Asia now (*Continued on Page 31*)

TV FOR THE PEOPLE

Don't Let Advertising Monopolize Potent New Medium

By **GEORGE MEANY**

A statement presented to the Federal Communications Commission on December 6

I APPRECIATE the opportunity of appearing before your Commission on behalf of the American Federation of Labor. At the outset, may I say we endorse the stand taken by the educators in requesting the reservation of a specific percentage of television channels for the exclusive use of education.

Working people in the United States, throughout the course of our history, have been strong supporters of all forms of education. They have recognized that an intelligent citizenry must be an informed citizenry. It was the working men and women of this country who led the fight for the establishment of the free public school system.

At a later period in our history the working people through their union organizations were in the forefront of the campaign to establish the public high school. Today organized labor is just as much interested in the work being carried on in our colleges and universities in general education, professional training, technical and scientific education, and in the broad field of extension services provided to our adult citizenry.

Nevertheless, millions of our citizens—because of economic circumstances or for other reasons—have not been able to take advantage of these existing educational facilities. Additional millions of youth and adults could enrich their lives through closer acquaintance with the rapid developments taking place in the sciences, in the arts, in government and in social and economic affairs.

A large number of labor unions have for many years maintained bureaus and departments devoted to education, health and recreation. Progressive American labor believes that higher wages and better working con-

ditions, vital as they are, are not the sole concern of labor, nor the sole responsibility that industry bears to its employees.

Unions, as well as management, believe that education is vital to the worker. A better educated worker is a more productive one. He learns more in a shorter time, performs his tasks better and fulfills a wider role in the general community. Furthermore, in time of national emergency

many millions who, in the ordinary course of events, would not be able to take advantage of the facilities offered by our educational institutions.

We believe it to be essential, at this time, to insure the most effective use of television by the public. The initiative and resourcefulness that commercial organizations have demonstrated in developing television merit general approval. However, we feel that commercial interests as well as public interests will be further served if outlets are reserved for non-commercial purposes.

Insofar as existing television frequencies are concerned, it seems to us that the Commission has an obligation to insure increased utilization of frequencies for the public good. Certainly up to this point the use of television for general educational and community programs has been, to say the least, rather limited.

Experience with radio has clearly demonstrated the necessity of providing specific facilities for educational programs. As you know, some unions own and operate radio stations. In addition, some of the university-owned stations have sponsored forum, lecture, discussion and conference programs which our affiliated State Federations and central bodies have found to be of value to their members. In setting up a television policy for the future, we believe it essential that education be given even more emphasis because of the potentially broader uses of television.

The American Federation of Labor is particularly interested in the widest possible extension of the use of television for educational purposes. We believe it should bring information to people not receiving it through existing mediums.

It has frequently been said that in



MR. MEANY

when skilled laborers are at a premium, it is important that a high educational level be maintained so that a full supply of skilled workers is available.

Through the development of radio and television, the possibilities for providing educational services and information for millions of people have been tremendously expanded. Through their more efficient utilization, information can be taken directly into the homes of shut-ins, into schools and colleges, to the young, to the old, to the housewives and to the

spite of the many avenues of communication that have been developed in the modern world, we continue to be poorly informed on many vital problems. We believe the best way to guard against this is to give every possible assurance that the avenues of communication are made available to all groups in society.

It is important for members of labor organizations to obtain information regarding the problems, conditions of work and viewpoints of farmers, businessmen, housewives and governmental and professional leaders. It is no less important that members of such groups should have the opportunity to learn of the experiences, problems and conditions of work and aspirations of the sixteen million members of organized labor.

The interests of labor and the interests of the broader community are for the most part identical. It is essential in these days and in the days ahead that our common interests should be emphasized and the basis of our differences be understood.

Radio and television have made some contribution to establishing a common basis of understanding. The history of the last twenty-five years, however, has shown that radio has not played the great role educationally that was expected of it. Television offers even broader areas of appeal and possibilities of utilization in developing educational programs. Indeed, there is the real possibility that radio and television may be used to supplement each other for educational purposes. It is that hope that impels us to urge that the maximum possible provision for the use of television in education be made by your Commission.

In the event your Commission approves this request, we urge:

(1) That sponsorship of such facilities be encouraged on the widest possible basis. We favor the sponsorship of such stations by broadly representative committees or under the joint auspices of several educational institutions. In metropolitan areas there are usually a number of colleges, universities and non-profit institutions which carry active educational programs.

(2) That the quality and scope of the educational station should be improved and constantly widened. The

experience in the development of programs should be made available to other stations.

(3) That your Commission require stations licensed for educational purposes to give reasonably adequate reports of the nature and purpose of the programs offered. Such public reports would assist your Commission in appraising the work of the stations and would result in an exchange of techniques, ideas and material among stations and, above all, it would bring the station closer to the community it serves.

WE of the American Federation of Labor feel that this new and powerful medium should not be handed over entirely to the advertising industry for exploitation as a sales medium. The government owes a greater obligation to the American people. The Federal Communications Commission is the sole guardian of

their rights. It should protect the nation's children and its grown-ups from the over-commercialization to which they are now subjected. We want our children to learn something more from television than singing commercials.

Labor also wants to see the facilities of television made available for the presentation of various points of view on national problems. Existing television stations have failed to provide that kind of forum.

That is why I have come here today, on behalf of the eight million members of the American Federation of Labor, to support the position taken by the educators and to urge this Commission to reserve television channels for the exclusive use of educational institutions.

The home life of countless American families and the educational opportunities of generations to come will be affected by your decision now.

Chicago Going Into TV

THE Chicago Federation of Labor, which has owned and operated its own radio station for twenty-four years, is planning to go into television. Federation delegates have unanimously directed the board of directors of Station WCFL to take the necessary steps.

The leaders of the American Federation of Labor movement in the nation's second city are convinced a television outlet will be essential for the protection of labor's interests in the future.

WCFL, the voice of labor in Chicago, broadcast its first program on July 27, 1926. Today it is a major outlet, operating on the strongest power the Federal Communications Commission will let any radio station use.

WCFL is equal to any station in the country in the quality of its programs. In the field of classical music it has presented weekly broadcasts of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra concerts and two favorite recorded programs—the Treasury of Music and the Music Lovers' Hour.

In news reporting labor's radio station presents its own commentator. Vic Barnes, a veteran Chicago newspaperman, at 7 each evening. At 9 P.M. WCFL is the Chicago outlet for

the nationwide news program of Frank Edwards, sponsored by the American Federation of Labor.

In public service WCFL is also a leader. In 1949 it broadcast an all-night entertainment, featuring Eddie Cantor, Fran Warren and other well-known stars, to help raise funds to carry on the fight against polio.

During Governor Adlai Stevenson's industrial safety conference, WCFL broadcast the proceedings from a Chicago hotel. Two weeks later WCFL handled the address of President Truman from Chicago Stadium.

During the big printers' strike against the major Chicago daily newspapers, WCFL told the printers' side of the story night after night, month after month, throughout the long battle. If there had been no WCFL in existence, the public would have had to depend upon the struck papers, naturally not impartial, for information about the strike issues.

"We must communicate the story of organized labor to the public in effective fashion," William A. Lee, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, declares. "Only by using all available communications media can we properly inform the public about the good, the service to all that is done every day by the labor movement."



Samuel Gompers and the I.L.O.

By J. C. TURNER
Counselor, I.L.O. Washington Office

AS THIS centennial year of the birth of Samuel Gompers comes to a close, millions of workers all over the world have had their standards of life made better through an instrumentality that in great measure is a monument to his efforts, the International Labor Organization. The fine tribute paid him by the I.L.O. at Geneva in June of this year, when Secretary-Treasurer George Meany of the American Federation of Labor dedicated the Samuel Gompers Memorial Room in his honor, was well earned.

Without Sam Gompers there might not have been an I.L.O. in 1919. At that time the leading statesman of the world was Woodrow Wilson. Outside his official family, there was no one in Washington on whom President Wilson depended so much as on Gompers. A born leader, Gompers could command confidence from his fellow-men for his every objective.

Wilson, in private conversation and at the A. F. of L. convention of 1917 in Buffalo, had paid high tribute to his friend Gompers. Without the friendship of Wilson it is doubtful that the leaders of world labor would

even have been invited to Versailles. Without Wilson's strong faith in Samuel Gompers, Article XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, which authorized constitution of the I.L.O., might not have been approved by the Big Four.

Gompers was born in London in 1850 of Dutch-Jewish parents, emigrating to the U.S. at 13. Mingling with people of all races in New York City's slums during his formative years, Gompers came to maturity with a sympathetic understanding of all peoples. Hence he developed a true international viewpoint. The solicitude of Gompers for all wage-earners, regardless of nationality, was permanently imparted to the American Federation of Labor.

In his autobiography Gompers reported that at an early age he accepted the principle that "human freedom is a worldwide struggle." Gompers is most entitled to contemporary recognition for his contributions to international relations.

In the strife-torn world of 1950 the principles and ideals of Sam Gompers are as applicable as they were in 1914. Wage-earners have the best opportunity to become free and to re-

main free when they have the blessings of economic and social justice. The ideologies of totalitarianism take root and grow strong in a climate of poverty and disease, of social reaction and human misery. Gompers' genius was such that to him these universal truths were self-evident. The central principle of the I.L.O., that lasting peace can come only when there is economic and social justice for workers of all nations, was a keystone in the philosophy of Samuel Gompers.

In 1895 and in 1909, President Gompers was fraternal delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the conventions of the British labor movement. In 1909 he was unofficial representative to the convention of the international trade secretariats. His correspondence with European labor leaders was voluminous, particularly with Appleton of Great Britain and Jouhaux of France.

At the A. F. of L. convention in 1914, Gompers introduced what seems to have been his only resolution while president of the A. F. of L. This resolution read as follows:

"Resolved, That the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in

view of the general peace congress which will no doubt be held at the close of the war for the purpose of adjusting claims and differences, hold itself in readiness and authorize the Executive Council to call a meeting of representatives of organized labor of the different nations to meet at the same time and place, to the end that suggestions may be made and such action taken as shall be helpful in restoring fraternal relations, protecting the interests of the toilers and thereby assisting in laying foundations for a more lasting peace."

Not only did that convention adopt the resolution but at succeeding conventions during World War I similar actions of the A. F. of L. contributed to the delineation of a complete labor program. The 1914 resolution, which was circulated among the trade union centers of the various nations, stimulated great interest.

Take note that at this early date Samuel Gompers emphasized the relationship of the well-being of workers to a lasting peace. Here also we have his great imagination and audacity conceiving something new in the world: the conception of union representatives meeting at the same time and place as the peace conference to influence the course of a peace treaty. Later he was to demand and receive the appointment of labor representatives to some of the peace conference delegations.

At a congress of representatives of British, French, Belgian and Italian unions, held at Leeds, England, in 1916, it was agreed that the peace treaty following the close of World War I should contain special clauses on labor legislation.

The nearest approach to a world conference of union representatives, an accomplishment for which Samuel Gompers was due the principal credit, was the Inter-Allied Labor Conference in London, September 17 to 21, 1918. Gompers was accompanied to London by John P. Frey, William J. Bowen, Charles L. Baine and Edgar Wallace. Gompers and Frey bore the brunt of articulating the American position. In several debates Gompers' incisive presentation of facts and powerful personality overwhelmed the Britisher, Arthur Henderson.

The conference was highly successful. The American Federation of Labor program was accepted. Wilson's Fourteen Points were approved

as a basis for peace. All Allied nations were requested to send labor representation to the peace conference, and the proposal for a formulation of international industrial standards for labor was adopted. The last provision, in modified form, was to become the labor charter of Article XIII of the treaty of peace.

Leaving England, Gompers journeyed to France and Italy to observe first-hand the progress of the war and to exchange views with European statesmen. He arrived back in the United States in mid-October, 1918.

At the San Antonio, Texas, meeting of the Executive Council in late October of that year a committee of five was appointed to represent the American Federation of Labor in implementing the action of previous conventions calling for an international labor conference to be held at the close of the war. This committee consisted of Gompers, William Green, James Duncan, John Alpine and Frank Duffy.

President Wilson approved the plan for the conference and expressed the view that Gompers' presence in Paris "would be of real service." However, the British and French governments refused to guarantee the safety of labor delegates from enemy countries before peace terms had been concluded.

With this matter still unresolved,

the A. F. of L. committee sailed from New York on January 8, 1919, on the steamer *Carmania*. The committee conferred with representatives of the British, French and Belgian trade union representatives in London and Paris with regard to the possibilities of calling an international labor conference.

Groups which Gompers considered radical were trying to organize a conference of representatives of the unions of all the belligerent nations, including the enemy powers, in Berne, Switzerland. The Americans believed that a meeting of Allied trade unionists should come first and refused to participate in the Berne conference.

While the discussions were in progress, Gompers received notice of his appointment by President Wilson to represent the United States on the Commission on International Labor Legislation at the peace conference. On January 28 the American trade unionists met President Wilson at his Paris residence for a long discussion. The President urged Gompers to keep in close touch with him during the peace conference.

The Commission on International Labor Legislation convened on February 1, 1919. Gompers was unanimously elected president of the commission. There were thirty-five meetings of the commission from February 1 to March 24, with a ten-day



Gompers (seated, left) in France with A. F. of L. group during World War I. He worked incessantly for victory and justice

recess from March 1 to March 10.

"At no time in my life have I ever worked harder or against such tremendous odds," Gompers was to say later.

The entire American delegation attended the almost daily sessions of the commission. At the evening meal they would discuss the events of the day and plan strategy for the next day. The present writer talked to President William Green relative to his participation in this delegation. He said:

"The tensions and strains in the work of the commission were very great. Samuel Gompers faced a Herculean task as president of the commission, with the wide divergence of opinion among the delegates giving rise to sharp debates and with the great drains on human energy resulting from the length and continuity of the sessions. I recall very well the strong support given our delegation by President Wilson in our attempts to project the American point of view."

As the work of the commission got under way it was agreed that a proposed British draft would be used as a guide. The wording of the proposed British preamble was that peace depended "upon the prosperity and contentment of all classes and of all nations." Gompers immediately labeled such wording as far too limited and insisted that the problem was to insure to all workers a state of social and industrial justice. The commission recognized the wisdom of Gompers' argument and changed the wording to the now famous phrase that universal peace "can be established only if it is based upon social justice."

On the question of I.L.O. conventions (treaties) to regulate the minimum standards of labor, it was proposed in the commission that conventions should become binding on all participating nations upon a two-thirds majority vote of the I.L.O. conference. Gompers declared that such a provision would be unacceptable under the U.S. Constitution, which left labor matters primarily in the hands of the several states.

The commission finally compromised to the extent of authorizing federal governments to undertake no treaty obligations on conventions, but instead to report on action by their states with respect to the conventions.

Gompers' paramount contribution to the work of the commission was the

Labor Charter. Harold Riegelman has said that its principles "represented the outstanding expression of American trade union philosophy of the time, combining in a single document the Wilsonian principles of democratic liberalism and the Gomperian doctrine of the rights of labor."

The Charter states that the high contracting parties "think that there are methods and principles for regulating labor conditions which all industrial communities should endeavor to apply, so far as their special circumstances will permit." Among them are "the guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce," the right of association for workers, payment of adequate wages, the eight-hour day, a weekly rest, abolition of child labor, equal pay for equal work, protection of foreign workers and a system of inspection to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the unemployed.

DESPITE misgivings about some of its actions, in his final address to the commission, as it concluded its work, Gompers pledged his support. He expressed his opinion that since the I.L.O. would further the highest human interests, he would pledge his strong support. He was as good as his word.

With the conclusion of the work of the commission, the American delegation sailed for home. The vice-president of the commission, G. N. Barnes of Great Britain, was charged with presenting the report to the high contracting parties of the peace conference.

President Wilson knew before Gompers' departure that the report of the committee met with the approval of the American labor leader, hence when Wilson was asked whether the report should come before a plenary session of the peace conference he gave an affirmative response. At the plenary session of April 11, 1919, the report was adopted as Article XIII of the Treaty of Versailles and became the constitution of the International Labor Organization.

Some minor changes had been made in the report by a drafting committee to bring it into conformity with the Covenant of the League of Nations. However, Andrew Furuseth of the Seamen did not consider the changes unimportant, and at the At-

lantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor in June, 1919, when the question of endorsing ratification of the peace treaty was discussed, Furuseth opposed endorsement in a bitter speech. Fear, later proved groundless, that the gains of the U.S. Seamen's Act would be lost, coupled with dissatisfaction over changes made by the drafting committee, motivated Furuseth.

Gompers took the floor to say that the Treaty of Versailles was not perfect, "but it was far in advance of any other of similar character." For the first time in history, he argued, "the rights, interests and welfare of workers received specific recognition in an international peace treaty." Subsequently ratification of the treaty was endorsed overwhelmingly by the convention.

During 1919 and afterward Gompers did all in his power to secure United States ratification of the treaty and the League of Nations. Writing, speaking, testifying before committees, he worked ceaselessly.

In the fall of 1919 the first annual conference of the International Labor Organization convened in Washington, D. C. The United States had not ratified the Treaty of Versailles and so the American representatives could have no official status. Nevertheless, the conference voted unanimously that Samuel Gompers should participate in its deliberations and discussions. He attended a number of the sessions and made an address on the eight-hour day.

In subsequent years the United States failed to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, with the brunt of the opposition developing from the provision for the League of Nations. In June, 1934, however, the United States did join the I.L.O. Since then it has been very active in it. The international representative of the A. F. of L., George P. Delaney, is a member of the Governing Body of the organization.

Thirty-one years have gone by since Gompers' Olympian effort in Paris. The League of Nations has withered away, and the I.L.O. is now an autonomous specialized agency of the United Nations. The I.L.O. has kept the faith and has never departed from the high ideals and principles of Samuel Gompers which are its heritage. He was, in truth, a rock on which the I.L.O. has built its edifice.

The A.M.A. Shouldn't Lie

By OSCAR EWING
Federal Security Administrator

SERIOUS illness costs more than you can afford to pay. That is, unless you belong to the one American family out of five with an income of more than \$5000 a year; or unless you have no income at all and can qualify as a "charity case."

National health insurance would enable you to pay for good medical care by setting aside a portion of your wages each time you're paid, just as you do now to get the social security protection of old-age and survivors' insurance.

Sickness is unpredictable. Your next illness may cost you anywhere from a few dollars to hundreds or even thousands of dollars. National health insurance would operate on the sound American principle of putting aside a portion of earnings as protection for the future. It is simply an extension of social security to cover medical care.

When illness strikes, you would not have to go into debt or onto "charity" in order to pay doctor and hospital bills. You would not need to put off seeing the doctor through fear of being unable to pay the bill. Seeing your doctor before an illness becomes serious would help him head off disaster and keep you in better health.

In the heat of the recent political campaign, national health insurance was shamefully misrepresented by reactionary groups. *National health insurance is not a plan to "socialize" medicine. The doctors would not work for the government, nor would the government tell them how to practice medicine.* There would be no change in the relationship between patient and doctor—except for the removal of the present dollar barrier. A program which proposes to better the health of every American deserves studied consideration rather than name-calling.

Under national health insurance, 1½ per cent of your wages would be withheld and your employer would

contribute a like amount, just as in old-age and survivors' insurance. These payroll taxes, paid by workers and employers across the country, would help to build up a fund out of which would be paid the doctor and hospital bills of the worker and his dependents.

Let us suppose, for example, you become suddenly ill—a sharp pain in the abdomen. Your wife suggests you had better see a doctor. You aren't held back by the fear of "Can I afford it?" because you've already been paying for the right to medical care through payroll deductions. So you decide to go to see a doctor—or, if you're feeling quite ill, you phone and ask him to drop around.

YOU CAN choose any doctor who is taking part in the national health insurance plan. It may well be the same family doctor you've always called, or wanted to call, in emergencies.

Your doctor diagnoses your condition, perhaps after consultation with a specialist, as appendicitis. He sends you to a good hospital, where a skilled surgeon performs the operation. With good nursing care, you are back on the job in a couple of weeks. And you don't have the worry of "How am I ever going to pay for it?" The doctor's bill and hospital bill will be paid from the national fund which you and your employer helped build.

It's as simple as that. Your insurance would entitle you and your dependents to home and office calls by your doctor, treatment by specialists, hospital and nursing care up to sixty days, eyeglasses, hearing aids, costly medicines, X-rays and laboratory tests. It would also cover, to a limited degree, dental care and home nursing.

Fees and rate standards would be established by a board in your own community made up of local citizens and, of course, representatives of the health professions. Strictly profes-

sional matters would be decided by local councils of doctors. A federal board would establish broad standards to assure that the system operated without discrimination and that only accredited doctors and hospitals took part.

Perhaps you are now covered by voluntary health insurance. These plans serve a useful purpose, but they don't pay all your sickness' bills. They also cost too much to meet the needs of low-income groups. *As a matter of fact, 86,000,000 Americans still have no health insurance protection of any kind.*

Operating costs and profits in individual commercial policies run over 60 per cent, leaving less than 40 cents from each premium dollar to pay your medical bills. Overhead in the group commercial plans runs about 30 per cent. The strictly non-profit voluntary plans show a better record. But even here the overhead for hospitalization plans (like Blue Cross) runs to about 15 per cent of premiums; for surgical-medical plans (like Blue Shield), it runs about 23 per cent.

Very few voluntary plans will give you anything like complete protection. Under most plans you must still dig into your own pocket to pay for the doctor, special nursing, expensive medicines and anything beyond routine care. *Very few plans offer preventive medicine, inoculations, prenatal and postnatal care, medical care at home or periodic check-ups.*

Actually, the Blue Cross hospitalization plan pays only 21 per cent of the average family's medical bills. Blue Cross and Blue Shield, providing both hospitalization and doctors' services, pay only 35 per cent of the family's medical bills.

National health insurance, however, is only a part of the President's program for raising the levels of America's health. Enabling workers and their families to pay their medical bills will insure greater protection of

the nation's health, but we also need more doctors and hospitals, an extension of public health services, intensified research and means to return the handicapped to productive jobs.

We have made great strides in the past fifty years in reducing the toll of disease. The average child born this year can look forward to about twenty years longer life than one born in 1900. We have virtually wiped out smallpox, diphtheria and typhoid fever. In our better hospitals lives of more mothers and infants are being saved than ever before.

We are proud of our progress, but we cannot call it "good enough." These figures offer some idea of a few of the problems yet to be solved: at least 8,000,000 of our people are in need of treatment for mental disorders, 190,000 die every year from cancer, 460,000 from heart disease; some 40,000 babies die every year in premature births.

There is a tremendous job to be done for the nation's children. Half a million have rheumatic fever or heart disorders; another 500,000 have orthopedic or spastic defects; 1,000,000 have defective hearing; 4,000,000 have visual defects; 20,000,000 need dental attention.

Ill health is costing America \$27 billion a year in lost wages and production, \$8½ billion in medical and health costs. At a time when we are working to gear the nation for defense, 1,500,000,000 days are being lost each year through illness. Nearly 3,000,000 persons are totally disabled, their productive ability lost to the nation.

Of course, we can't hope to solve these problems overnight. But thousands of our deaths are preventable, and much could be done to reduce illness and disability. We could, for example, do better job if more of the country were brought up to the level of medical care found in the more progressive states. Too often your chance of recovering from an illness depends on where you live. Our best hospitals are found in the large cities, where there's more wealth. These centers also attract the bulk of our health personnel—doctors, dentists, nurses and laboratory workers.

The distribution of doctors varies as much as one for every 500 persons in Massachusetts or the District of Columbia to one for every 1,500 persons in Mississippi or New Mexico. In two counties out of every five, there

is no accredited general hospital. There is no full-time health department in one-third of our counties, in which 40,000,000 people live.

We are making progress, yes; but we still need to extend good medical care to more people who can't get it or can't afford it. We must keep improving our defenses against disease and disability, just as we strengthen our defenses against other threats to America's welfare. Our citizens' health is a vital part of our nation's strength. That's why, along with national health insurance, the President has recommended other measures needed to fill in the gaps in American medical care.

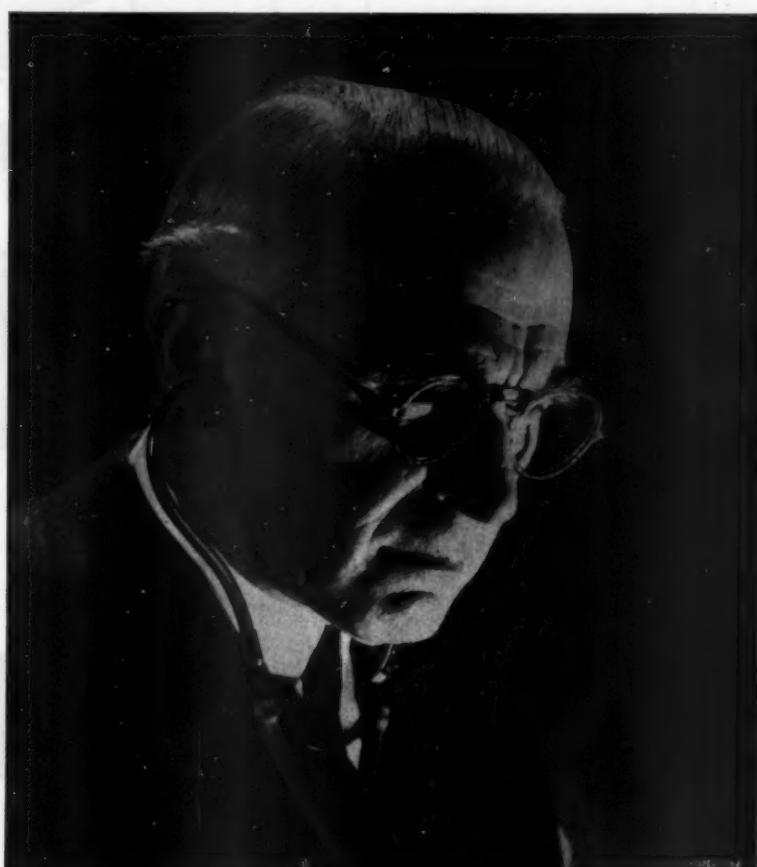
The Hospital Survey and Construction Act is enabling us to increase our hospital facilities, especially in areas of need. It provides federal funds to help states and communities build new hospitals and health centers. Since passage of the law in 1946 over a thousand new hospital projects have been started. This is progress, although we really should

double our present number of hospitals.

As a matter of fact, only fourteen out of every 100 counties in the United States meet the accepted standard of four and one-half general hospital beds for each 1,000 of population. Your chance of getting into a hospital when you or someone in your family becomes seriously ill may depend on how rapidly this program goes forward.

We need to extend protective health services by seeing that every county has a full-time health department. Each community can strive to improve its own health services. Often state or federal aid will be needed.

A good health department serves as the watchdog of your community's health. Among the services it should provide are food and milk inspections, water pollution control, home nursing care, mass case-finding to disclose unsuspected diseases, venereal disease treatment centers, crippled children's services, and maternal and child care clinics. There should be one public



Doctors would have same relationship with patients as at present, but with insurance the people would get more care, live longer

health nurse for every 6,500 persons, but there was only one for every 63,700 in 1948. Your own health is more fully protected in a city or county with an up-to-date health department.

You undoubtedly have read about the new treatments that have been developed as a result of medical research. No one could fail to be impressed by the miraculous results obtained from the use of such drugs as sulfa, penicillin and cortisone. Congress has reflected the public's enthusiasm by providing additional funds for research, notably in cancer, heart disease and mental disorders.

The National Institutes of Health of the Federal Security Agency have developed into the world's foremost laboratories for medical research. Federal funds are also being used to assist independent medical research projects in American hospitals, universities and other institutions.

We are still in need of more research in the chronic diseases which attack the aged. We need greater study of the hazards which menace our children and infants.

Federal funds invested in medical research pay human and financial dividends out of all proportion to cost. Yet until recently we were spending more research money on plant and animal diseases than on human diseases! The chance of restoring a member of your family to health may depend on the progress we make in medical research.

It is an inexcusable loss to American productivity to deprive physically disabled persons of jobs because proper medical care or rehabilitation services are not available. With no way to support themselves, these people become a problem to their families and must often rely on public support.

Fortunately, we are making headway in preparing these citizens for jobs through our federal-state program of vocational rehabilitation. In the past six years some 280,000 disabled workers have received medical care and training for jobs which match their abilities rather than their disabilities and actual placement.

There remain, however, perhaps 1,500,000 persons who need rehabilitation. More federal funds invested in this program would be many times repaid, not only in the taxes paid by citizens who become productive work-

ers but in the strengthened morale of these workers and their families.

To operate an enlarged health program, we shall need, of course, more doctors, dentists, nurses and other health personnel. We shall need 20 per cent more doctors. The shortage of dentists is even greater. And we need 42,000 more nurses right now.

A bill was recently passed by the Senate which would enable our medical schools to expand their facilities and which would provide scholarships for deserving medical students. When the bill came up for hearings in a House committee, it met strong opposition from the American Medical Association and was shelved. This seems incredible, in view of the fact that we face a national emergency and must draft doctors for the armed services.

Of course, the A.M.A. will continue to use the bulk of its high-powered and expensive ammunition to fight national health insurance, the heart of

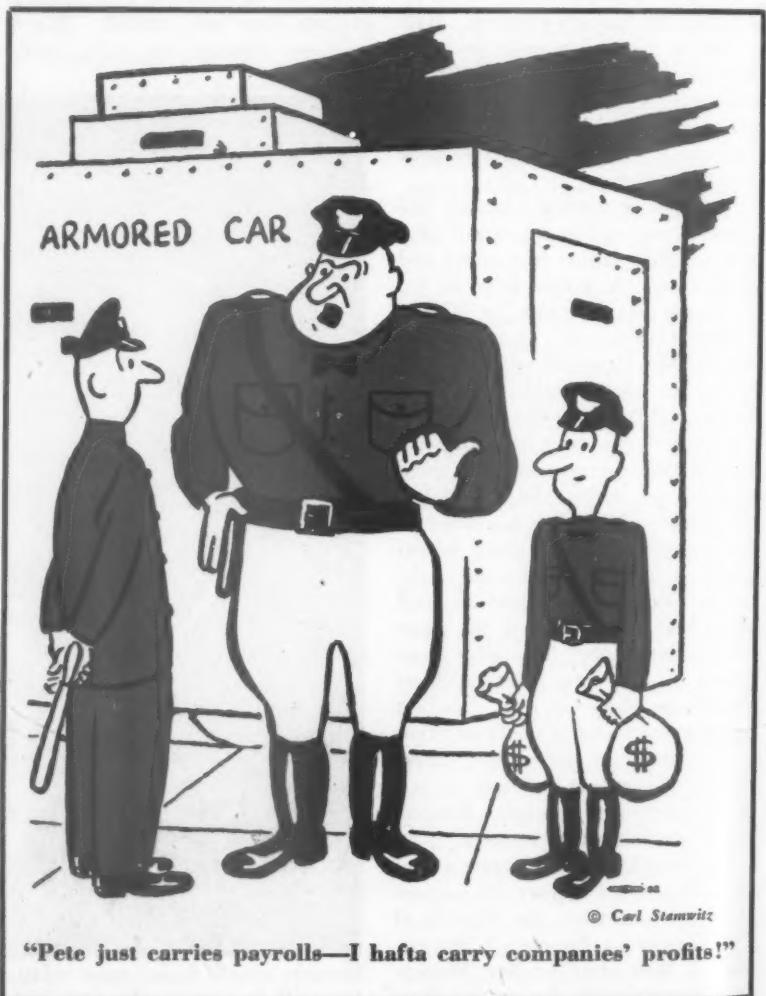
the President's program for improving the nation's health.

Curiously, the A.M.A. is staunchly supporting the voluntary plans, which it once called "socialistic, communistic, * * * inciting to revolution." It has a long record of opposing progressive legislation. It was against old-age and survivors' insurance, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, public health services to control tuberculosis—and even the reporting of communicable diseases.

In October, the A.M.A. alone spent \$1,100,000 to fight national health insurance. It will continue to try to make you think that adoption of the President's program would destroy the very foundations of America.

American workers are familiar with these time-worn reactionary devices. They will not be fooled.

The fight to adopt a health insurance program to meet the needs of all Americans will go on.





MR. HABERMAN



Wisconsin's Way

By **GEORGE A. HABERMAN**
and **WILLIAM NAGORSNE**

*President and Secretary, Respectively,
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor*



MR. NAGORSNE

WISCONSIN is known throughout the world as the Dairy State. We in the State Federation of Labor realize the import of this reputation far more than do most labor folks. The farmer, who is the backbone of this great dairy enterprise, is not altogether friendly to us. He is not unfriendly in the sense that he personally hates labor or that he is jealous of it; he is unfriendly in that he does not understand the place and role of the organized labor movement in the state.

By and large, his information about labor is gleaned from the state press and radio. A good share of his information also comes from Washington, D. C.—from lobbies operating there and from members of Congress who represent him. Representatives who, in the main, go out of their way to scare the farmer by describing labor in fantastic phrases—"a restless bunch of no-gooders, who like to get things for nothing and who always are on strike."

The Wisconsin farmer, along with his lack of understanding of labor, fails to appreciate his dependence upon labor, which is the other major segment of population in the state. Wisconsin is swiftly becoming an industrial as well as an agricultural state. Some will argue, with merit, that the sooner the farmer and the wage-earner realize their interdependence, the sooner will a sound economic and political condition descend upon the average Wisconsin citizen.

The founder of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, Frank J. Weber, and his successors, Henry Ohl, J. J.

Handley and Herman Seide, were always cognizant of the importance of gaining the support, through mutual understanding, of the farmer.

These men realized that as long as labor and the farmer were divided, a small coterie of industrialists would run the state politically. The past fifteen years have shown how effective this political operation has been.

Since 1941, when the first of the present writers took office, we have sought to work out ways and means whereby the dreams of the early State Federation officers would become a reality.

The secretary-treasurer, in his role as the legislative representative, has always worked for a greater understanding between labor and the farmer in the state legislative halls. The Federation has always supported those measures that would better the social and economic conditions of the Wisconsin farmer. The legislative representative has many times taken an active part in the promotion of sound farm legislation, even though the labor movement had no direct or even remote interest in the matter before the Legislature.

The president, in his appearances before many civic, religious and other organizations, has time and again stressed the needs of the farmer in relation to the needs of the workers.

It is important to note here the role which the State Federation of Labor has played in gaining for the farmer support for such things as the agricultural college at the University of Wisconsin. Labor has long known the importance of the educational sys-

tem in relation to the life and activity of the farmer. It is important to note, however, that the return support from farmers for a workers' school at the university comes only in dribbles. The farmers, as a whole, do not see the significance of a school for organized workers as they see the value and importance of an agricultural school for their own people.

Out of Wisconsin labor's interest in labor-farmer understanding and friendship over the years have grown many political movements and ideas. We are sure most readers are familiar with that part of the Wisconsin story. There is no need to recite here the great traditions of the state, its pioneering achievements in workmen's compensation, unemployment compensation and apprenticeship training.

Especially since 1947 have the officers of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor been attempting to find a sound solution to the problem of developing a legislative program of action coordinating farm and labor issues and cementing understanding. The Citizens' Non-Partisan Conference on Political Education was the vehicle devised for this purpose. The State Federation of Labor, in proposing this conference, gained the support of the C.I.O., railroad brotherhoods, Townsend Club, Machinists, independents, co-ops and their various auxiliaries.

The Non-Partisan Conference undertook the task of endorsing a candidate for U.S. Senate. The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor gave its full support to that campaign. Many issues arose. (Continued on Page 27)

EDITORIALS

by William Green

No More Appeasement

A GRAVE situation has grown out of the intervention of Communist Chinese troops in Korea. The United Nations forces, after terrific fighting and bloody sacrifices, reached the Thirty-eighth Parallel, where they rested and awaited orders to subdue aggression in North Korea. Later, when they moved toward the northern border of North Korea, they found themselves opposed by huge armies from Red China.

The United States called upon the Security Council to require the Peiping regime to withdraw its armies and to send representatives to answer charges of aggression. The American delegate said that Red China should be summoned—not invited—a position which reflects American feeling. Our troops have borne the brunt of the battle to defeat the Communist aggressors, armed with Soviet equipment, in Korea, and we cannot dishonor our citizens who made the supreme sacrifice to oppose brutal aggression rather than yield on principle.

The time is long past for appeasement of Communists anywhere. Our army fought with Nationalist China as an ally in the Pacific battles to defeat Japanese aggression. It was a bloody war, and before it was ended the diplomats had made concessions to Stalin at Yalta that made possible his bringing continental Eastern Asia within the Russian orbit. Stalin also demanded and received concessions in Europe that enabled him to place Eastern Europe in his empire.

We liberated Korea from Japanese control. Before its conquest by Japan, Korea had had an independent government for several thousands of years. Then the United Nations permitted Stalin to control half of the country, while we became responsible for South Korea.

The Security Council decided to invite the Peiping government to have a representative attend the meeting of the Council to discuss complaints of armed invasion of Formosa. On November 8 the Security Council extended an invitation to the Chinese Communists to attend the Council's meeting to discuss General MacArthur's documented charges that Red Chinese troops had intervened to aid North Korean forces against the United Nations. The United States representatives on the Security Council opposed the first invitation and argued that the second should be a summons instead of an invitation, but they did not vote against it.

The Kremlin is unquestionably responsible for the present grave situation. The Kremlin has a treaty of alliance with the Chinese Communists. Molotov was sent to Peiping to arrange plans shortly after the United Nations acted to repel the aggression in Korea. Mao Tse-tung has been conferring with other Kremlin agents. The aggressors in Korea have been using the latest Rus-

sian weapons during the recent fighting. The Communist Chinese delegation has come to Lake Success by way of the U.S.S.R.

Thus it is clear that our real enemy is Communist Russia. The Kremlin is responsible for the invasions of South Korea, of Tibet and Indo-China. The Kremlin interferes with Austrian police, impedes Berlin traffic, manufactures munitions in East Germany and arms the East Germans.

The United Nations is anxious to avoid war with Red China. The United Nations received a request from Tibet for protection against the Kremlin-inspired invasion by Communist Chinese armies. The United States cannot afford to involve all of its forces in fighting Soviet satellites when we are needing to prepare against the real enemy—Stalin and the Politburo. Neither can we afford to aid the United Nations in enforcing its authority if that agency does not carry through to a settlement based on principles of its Charter.

The feeling of the people of the United States toward any foreign policy of appeasement of communism was expressed emphatically in the recent elections and in the large numbers of citizens who turned out to vote. Whatever necessitates conscription of American boys must be based on sound moral principles.

The Election

RETURNS from the election were disappointing in that we failed to defeat some candidates hostile to effective unionism. On the other hand, the election was gratifying in that it revealed the preponderance of American citizens who regard defense against the Communist international conspiracy as the major issue before our government.

Both in the House and in the Senate prominent persons who fell short of direct opposition to Communist agents and machinations were defeated. The House member who never failed to follow the Communist Party line was ousted. With our boys dying on the battlefield, American citizens are bitter against that nation which is prepared for war, which instigates aggression, which robs smaller nations of their freedoms and which never honors its obligations. Labor made definite gains in many of the less conspicuous contests.

From this experience a few principles for future action become obvious. The main ones are these: our efforts to gain legislative acceptance of the functions necessary for effective trade unionism must be directed and controlled by trade unionists for trade unionists, and trade unions must be the agencies for educating trade union voters.

The American Federation of Labor has no desire to

form a political party or to dominate an existing political party, but party conventions must heed our requests for necessary correction of injustices to labor and grievances from slow and inadequate action against administrative evils.

The American Federation of Labor is not retiring from political activity. It cannot do so in a democracy which expects and permits every group of citizens to provide its own welfare. The American Federation of Labor has been in politics since its organization in 1881, but it has been and is in politics in support of principles of labor and the national welfare and in support of those who have proven themselves friends by supporting our objectives.

The American Federation of Labor is a reasonable, experienced, democratic institution—an integral part of our nation—deliberately fashioned to operate as a free, democratic institution in a democratic society.

Defense and Controls

ALL CONSUMERS are conscious of inflation. They get the story of inflation in its destructive effects on the purchasing power of their dollars. Rising prices are the consequence of inflation.

In the last war we were able to conceal the effects of inflation to a considerable extent by controlling prices and wages. But demand left the controlled markets for the black and gray markets—free markets with high prices measuring inflation. After the war, in order to return to civilian production with expansion of facilities to meet new needs, we lifted the controls on prices, wages and consumer credit. Prices quickly rose to black-market heights, while wages trailed behind.

To the inflationary effect of the low interest rates maintained by the Treasury were added the inflationary forces of industrial expansion, price support for farm products, our high investments in European recovery and new peaks in consumer credit. We learned from that experience the primary causes of inflation—cheap, unlimited credit (that is, money inflation) and scarcity of supplies of commodities in proportion to demand.

Police action to defeat aggression in Korea in addition to the rearming of Western Europe in accordance with the Atlantic Pact found our economy at peak levels of production, employment and national income, with no reductions in the national debt. The implementation of war production demands on metals already made scarce by unprecedented activity in the construction, automobile and television industries added to inflationary forces. Because defense production limits civilian production, buyers, in order not to be caught short, began purchasing for anticipated needs. And again prices moved upward.

In a short time wage-earners' dollars shrank 4 to 5 per cent. Unions are trying to recoup the losses in purchasing power suffered by working people and provide against future losses. Not to do so would mean lowered standards of living without retarding inflation.

In August, Congress passed the National Production Act of 1950 and increased income taxes. The Production Act authorizes controls for consumer and real estate credit. It also authorizes the stabilization of prices and wages and necessary expansion of production

facilities. The Federal Reserve Board has curbed consumer credit. Construction activity has slowed down.

In order not to increase the national debt, we should try to pay for defense on a pay-as-you-go basis. Congress, of course, is responsible for appropriate fiscal policies and the Treasury can deal with money inflation or commercial credit. The degree of inflation is the result of policies in all of these fields.

To prevent inadequate defense production, Congress has authorized the President to requisition facilities to expand or increase the number of defense production plants. Expanded facilities mean increased employment and increased consumer buying power impinging on scarcer consumer goods. The President was given power to proceed by voluntary methods and, when necessary, by mandatory methods. The President was also given ample powers to enforce the act.

Defense production is now about 5 per cent of our total economy. New defense appropriations will raise this proportion substantially. What it will be ultimately depends on the plans and policies of the Kremlin. We know defense production will be with us for years. If the international tension stops short of war, defense production must be integrated with civilian production. If war comes, civilian production will be restricted.

In either event, the normal way to deal with American citizens is to give them the facts of need and ask them to accept additional responsibility. As pointed out in the beginning, inflation is the cumulative effect of many forces. Any program designed to deal with inflation must therefore be directed and made effective by these same groups working together on a coordinated program.

Neither the Federal Reserve Board, the Treasury, nor single industries, nor single unions, nor farm groups, acting independently, can control inflation. But meeting together to face facts, to agree upon a program and to allot responsibility for carrying out plans, voluntary industrial agents can organize to control and check inflation. The crux of voluntary controls for the common interests and welfare is inclusive organization for planning and for executing plans jointly.

In the long period ahead we must prepare to guard our free institutions at home and be alert to attacks on liberty throughout the world. Our economy must have flexibility as well as sureness of output. This requires wholehearted cooperation that comes from having a common goal and sharing responsibility. We must keep free from control by bureaucrats who in the long period of defense might become so firmly imbedded in our national life as to make return to free economic agencies well nigh impossible.

The National Production Act requires voluntary controls first. The first step is to organize voluntary groups with authority to cooperate. These groups should work out the machinery of voluntary controls. No effort has yet been made to utilize voluntary controls.

Defense production and war production need the same type of cooperation as inflation controls. Conversion orders should have the benefit of consultation with workers and management in the process of their development as a safeguard against mistakes and friction.

We urge as basic policy the fullest use of voluntary industrial organizations in the policy-making for defense production.

Recreation and Labor

By JOSEPH PRENDERGAST

Executive Director, National Recreation Association

THE American Federation of Labor has always been interested in the recreation movement in the United States because the contribution of recreation to the well-being of working people is very substantial.

The keen interest of A. F. of L. leaders has not been confined to the development of union recreation activities. They have repeatedly urged local unions and leaders to assist in the organization and establishment of public recreation authorities to develop community recreation systems which will benefit all the people in the community as well as the worker and his family. They have opposed the curtailment of community recreation programs in times of depression and have given public support to increased recreation areas and facilities and the expansion of programs of recreational activities.

The 1949 convention of the American Federation of Labor in St. Paul unanimously adopted a resolution which stated:

"The present mechanized age and its increased leisure time demand comprehensive planning for recreation. * * * Recreation facilities, public and private, should be planned and distributed on a neighborhood, district, regional, state and nationwide basis to provide maximum recreational opportunities for all age groups without distinction. * * *

"Adequate staffs of qualified personnel should be employed by each agency, organization or group responsible for recreation services so as to get maximum use of existing facilities."

Recreation is not only games and sports. Recreation is an activity participated in for its own sake, according to the interests and skills of the doer.

It includes outdoor and indoor activities, such as games and sports, social, folk and square dancing, arts

and crafts, music and drama, hiking, swimming, hunting and fishing, singing, picnics, hobbies, clubs, social gatherings and many other activities. Recreation may be a personal hobby or some experience shared with a small or large group. It is extremely important also as a medium of personality development.

Recreation may be organized or unorganized, under private auspices or governmental, commercial or non-commercial agencies. In any event, recreation is today cast in a greater role than heretofore since it provides the principal opportunity of many people for expressive living in our somewhat perplexing and dislocated community life.

On the one hand baffling obstacles and on the other hand enlarging opportunities lie before the majority of working people in their search for satisfying recreation.

IT is not too long ago for many workers to remember when the workweek consisted of ten to twelve hours of toil six days out of seven. Now the forty-hour workweek is almost universal, and in some industries the thirty-five hour workweek is standard. A thirty-hour workweek has been forecast for the future.

When the sixty- to seventy-two-hour workweek was in effect, the worker did not have many hours left —after working, eating and sleeping—to engage in recreation. In the present age, however, the worker has approximately fifty hours available for recreation—of the 168 hours in a week—after deducting the hours of work, the time spent going to and from work, fifty-six hours for sleep and twenty-one hours for meals.

In other words, today's worker has more hours for recreation participation than are spent at work. If the workweek is reduced in the future to thirty-five or even thirty hours, the

worker will have even more time available each week for recreational activities.

The increase in off-duty hours and the large influx of persons to industrial communities have made it imperative that more consideration be given and more expenditures be made to establish community recreation areas and facilities as well as to provide recreational activities which will appeal to all age groups.

The great specialization of modern industry, from the workers' standpoint, is built upon concentration on an unvarying task and the subordination of the worker's personality. There is little opportunity to develop creative interests.

"The net result," say Mitchell and Mason in "Theory of Play," "is monotony. It has been shown that specialized labor gives niggardly and one-sidedly to physical development and that play is needed to supply generalized use of muscles in a normal way. There is also a second point that specialized labor does not command the interest of the worker as does general work.

"There are several reasons why interest is apt to be lacking in modern mode of work: (a) monotony of repetition, (b) lack of opportunity for the expression of the creative, (c) lack of opportunity for a sense of achievement, (d) lack of opportunity for sociability, (e) strain of modern tempo in industry."

"The jobs of many," says a National Recreation Association publication, "are made up of routine, repetitive, monotonous, simple movements. Men and women tend machines or they stand behind counters and sell gadgets. Such work does not stir the imagination or permit the personal mental growth of which most people are capable.

"To a small number of adults there is no personal recreation problem.

They have ample means for the things they want to do and the time to do them. But this is not the outlook of the average worker. * * *

"Commercially promoted amusements are the most conspicuous leisure-time diet of the public. At its best such entertainment is a worthy use of off-duty time, but most of it makes for passivity and not for personal effort and growth. If passive, it fails to provide the mental, physical and moral discipline and the enduring satisfaction that comes through participation in hobbies, sports, games, music, drama, crafts, camping and many other forms of recreational experiences."

Therefore, the creation of public authorities to administer community recreation systems, to acquire and develop recreation areas and facilities and to organize and conduct a wide range of activities under competent leadership for all the people in the community is of great importance to the worker. The leaders and members of local unions should support in an active manner the attempts to establish and expand community recreation systems.

A PERSON cannot live a well-rounded life without giving expression to his own interests and skills and receive satisfaction from doing the thing he wants to do, which he does receive when participating in some form of recreational activity. Recreation is an important part of one's life and the same serious consideration should be given it as is given to education. In the education of students in our schools and universities, recreation should have as important a place in the curriculum as sociology, psychology, the sciences and other subjects.

Recreation is important to a person because the satisfaction he derives from engaging in a recreational activity affects his attitude toward his job, his family, his fellow worker and the community as a whole. It is a fundamental truth that a worker who is happy produces better. Recreation gives a lift to morale, improves health, fosters teamwork and cooperation. Recreation affords a common ground where differences may be forgotten and a feeling of sociability developed.

Besides contributing to the maintenance of one's mental health, recreation is used increasingly in the men-

tal rehabilitation of the individual.

"Games, sports, drama, music, craft and other recreational activities provide healthful releases from pent-up physical and mental energy," *Recreation* magazine said eighteen years ago. "Success in recreation also gives the individual a sense of

STAMP	BUY
OUT	CHRISTMAS
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achievement and power and thus helps to avoid the growth of a feeling of inferiority which may oppress him through life and even lead to mental maladjustments. Furthermore, the feverish strain of modern urban existence is relieved by regular recourse to play, especially outdoor recreation."

Recreation not only develops individual qualities. It strongly influences the growth of social attitudes which affect the individual as a member of the group. (Continued on Page 29)

Herbert L. Rivers Is Dead at 62

Herbert L. Rivers, 62, secretary-treasurer of the Building and Construction Trades Department, died December 6 in Georgetown Hospital, Washington, D. C. His death followed an operation performed to remedy after effects of injuries suffered a year ago in a Montana automobile accident. Mr. Rivers and President Truman were close friends for three decades.

Mr. Rivers started work as a hod carrier after a public school education in Kansas City. He received his first union card in 1910 when he joined Laborers' Local 264 in Kansas City. When he died he was second vice-president of the international union.

Mr. Rivers was active in union affairs from the beginning. He represented his local union on the Kansas City Central Labor Union and also held various offices in the local.

In 1921 he became Commiss-

sioner of Labor in Missouri, and it was about that time that he and Harry S. Truman became staunch friends.

When Mr. Rivers was recuperating

in Georgetown Hospital a year ago from his accident, Mr. Truman came to see him bearing a large bunch of flowers. Prior to the visit and after-

ward, White House messengers brought flowers to Mr. Rivers' bedside. Mr. Rivers supported Mr. Truman for United States Senator and was one of the first to back him for the Vice Presidential nomination at the 1944 Democratic convention.

Mr. Rivers first became secretary-treasurer of the Building and Construction Trades Department in 1934, but he resigned a year later to lead a reorganization battle. He was reelected in 1937 and was returned to office by the annual conventions of the Department without a break thereafter.

Mr. Rivers was born on a farm near Fountain City, Indiana, on February 11, 1888.

He is survived by his widow, a daughter and a son.



THE LATE HERBERT L. RIVERS

Our Own Forgotten People

Migrant Workers Denied a Square Deal

By WILLIAM GREEN

Adapted from a statement submitted to the President's Commission on Migratory Labor

THE problems of the migratory workers have always been a subject of deep concern to the American Federation of Labor. Among the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are many with migrant workers among their members.

Although the plight of migrant workers on farms has attracted most attention, it is important to emphasize that not all migrants work on farms. Many of them secure temporary employment in building construction, trade, service and industry. For this reason, policies and programs affecting migrant workers are of direct concern not only to such unions as the National Farm Labor Union but also to the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor.

Most migratory workers are employed in agriculture. There are perhaps 1,000,000 migrant workers who receive the primary source of their incomes from farming and related activities. These migrant workers are subject to all of the many legislative and economic discriminations which have been imposed against farm workers. Their condition is even worse than that of non-migrant farm workers, however, because of the additional disadvantages inherent in the fact that they receive only seasonal and intermittent employment.

Farm workers are excluded from the benefits of almost all of our social welfare legislation. Despite the numerous attempts by organized labor and other liberal groups to secure for farm workers the same legislative protection enjoyed by non-farm workers, the operators and owners of large-

scale, industrial-type farms, who employ most of the farm workers in this country, have been able to defeat every attempt to secure this much-needed legislative protection for agricultural workers. As a result, farm workers find themselves in the following position:

Although they receive the lowest wages of any group of workers in the country, they are unprotected by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Any attempt by farm workers to organize into labor unions is unprotected by federal labor relations legislation, and farm employers are free to fire or refuse to hire workers active in union affairs.

Farm workers cannot obtain unemployment compensation when they are out of work or receive workmen's compensation when they are the victims of accidents occurring on the job.

Although partial coverage under old-age and survivors' insurance was finally obtained for farm workers with the passage of the 1950 amendments to the Social Security Act, the law's restrictive provisions still keep many farm workers—and virtually all migratory farm workers—exempt from coverage.

These are the legislative discriminations Congress has imposed against farm workers—migratory and non-migratory. Migratory workers are plagued by additional problems that are either non-existent or at least less acute for other types of farm workers.

Perhaps the most difficult one is inherent in the very nature of migratory work—namely, the seasonal or intermittent character of the occupation and a resulting lack of full-time employment. Even if migratory workers

were able to secure more regular work, their wages are so low that they would be able to obtain at best only a minimum standard of living. However, since the overwhelming majority of them work far less than the full year, their earnings during the limited period of their employment are so small that the standard of living of most migrant families is barely above a subsistence level.

In order to supplement the very low family income, the children of migrants generally begin working at a very early age. In fact, many large farm operators who employ migrant workers employ them on the basis of the "unit"—that is, the family—rather than on the basis of the individual worker, and wages are based on the output of the entire "unit."

Although the Fair Labor Standards Act theoretically prohibits employment of children in agriculture during school hours, the law is not adequately enforced. Even worse is the fact that there are no restrictions whatsoever when school is out. The result is that thousands of children in migrant families work long hours in the fields beside their parents.

The methods of recruiting migratory farm workers are so appalling that they can only be compared with the worst features of the hiring practices of the shipping companies before the enactment of the LaFollette Seamen's Act. Under the prevailing system, migrant laborers are hired by crew leaders or contractors who are responsible for their pay and who in turn handle the employment arrangements with a grower. Since these contractors are not now regulated in any way, many migrant workers sign on

with contractors or crew leaders without any definite assurance as to wages, hours or other working conditions.

The problem is made more acute by the fact that farm operators advertise job openings widely—and sometimes falsely—so that they can be assured of far more available workers than the number of jobs to be filled. The inevitable result is terribly low wages and horrible working and living conditions for the migrants competing for these jobs.

Aside from the discriminations levied against them by legislation and the severe handicaps that are present by the very nature of their work, the problem of the migrant is made infinitely worse by the fact that he belongs to a group which the community, by and large, tends to ignore unless the terrible conditions of the migrants threaten the community itself. Because most migrants cannot claim legal residence in any community, they and their families are deprived of the opportunity to utilize the community facilities which most American families take for granted.

Perhaps the most acute lack that they face is the completely inadequate schooling which their children receive. Children in rural areas have poorer educational opportunities than city children. Not only are the school facilities themselves less adequate but the school year is shorter, and many states permit the schools to close down

completely to allow the children to work in the fields during the peak harvest period.

Children in migrant families are even worse off. Because they are constantly moving from one place to another, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for them to attend any one school for more than a very few weeks. The net result is that almost all migrant children receive a very poor education and some of them are completely deprived of the opportunity to obtain any schooling whatsoever. It is no wonder, therefore, that the illiteracy rate is very high among migrant families.

THE RURAL slums in which most migrant families are forced to live are, if anything, worse than the slums in our large cities. When the migrants are on their own they live in makeshift shacks, tents and other completely inadequate dwellings, but the housing provided for them by the farm operators, most of which is completely owned by large farm operators or by growers' associations, is frequently nearly as bad.

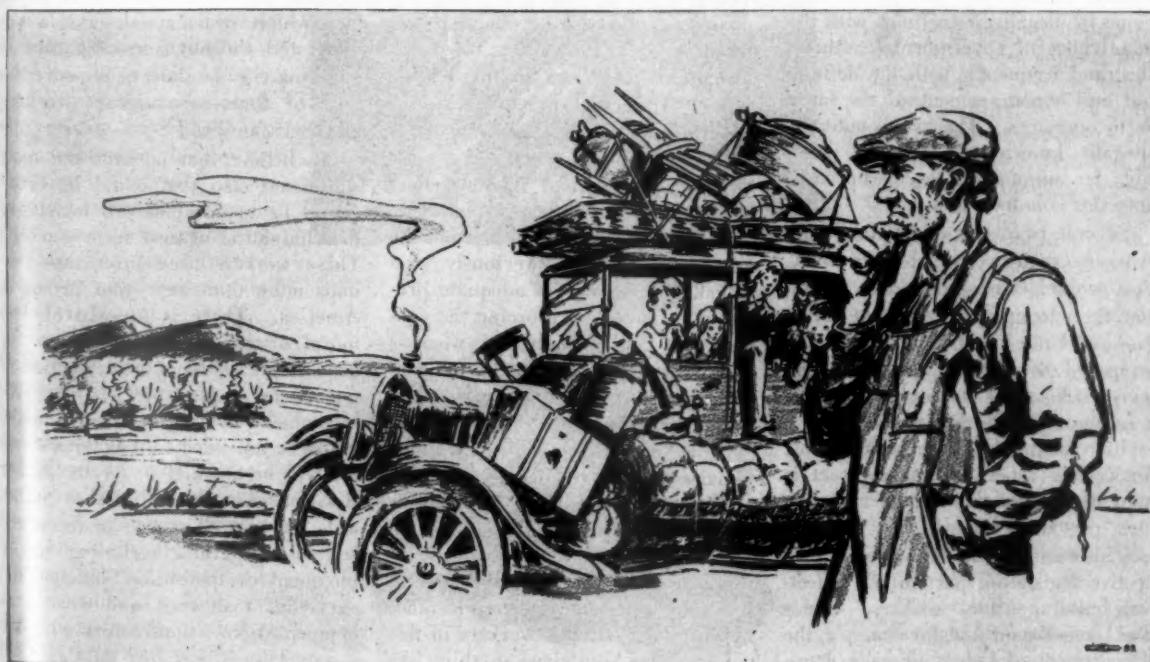
In most places migrants are ineligible to receive welfare payments when they are out of work, even though they are exempt from coverage under unemployment compensation.

This is but another way in which the migrants are treated as outcasts.

A comparatively new but extremely serious factor in this entire problem has been introduced with the importation on a large scale of workers from outside the continental United States. These workers compete with American workers for the comparatively limited number of jobs available in seasonal agricultural work.

The American Federation of Labor is very seriously concerned with this question. We feel that the importation of foreign workers to work in our fields and harvest our crops has in effect denied employment to what is perhaps the most underprivileged group in America. For those American migrant workers who have somehow been able to obtain jobs in the face of this foreign competition, it has had the effect of depressing their wages and worsening their already disgraceful working and living conditions.

We do not want to be misunderstood. The American Federation of Labor strongly supports any action to improve the economic opportunities of workers in other countries. However, it is our firm conviction that it is to the ultimate benefit not only of American workers but also of workers abroad that the improvement of the standard of living of the foreign workers be accomplished by expanding the economy of their own country. Our wholehearted and energetic support of the European recovery pro-



gram and Point Four testifies to our genuine efforts to improve living standards in other countries.

However, it is neither common sense nor sound economics to think that the poverty of farm workers in a foreign country can be alleviated by importing them to this country, where there is already an ample supply of available farm workers. Importation of farm workers only serves to intensify the poverty of domestic migrants and to prevent them from utilizing their meager bargaining power to improve their economic and social status.

The only group benefiting by this policy is the operators and owners of large-scale industrialized farms who can utilize the increased supply of workers to lower wage rates.

We have been particularly concerned about the large-scale importation of workers from Mexico. We think that this has been detrimental not only to American farm workers but also to the Mexicans themselves. Some of the Mexicans who have come into this country have immigrated legally under an agreement between the United States and Mexico. Others come in illegally, sometimes with the connivance of governmental authorities, and frequently with the definite aid and encouragement of the large farm operators. The group entering illegally, known as "wetbacks," probably far outnumbers those who come into this country legally.

Several problems affecting these workers require special comment. Any worker coming from Mexico under the agreement between the Mexican and United States governments is supposed to work only for an employer who agrees to comply with the minimum standards set forth in a written contract. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this contract is that it requires the employer to pay the "prevailing wage."

This term is commonly used in protective legislation particularly affecting building trades workers. Under the Davis-Bacon Act, for example, the Department of Labor officially deter-



mines the prevailing wages for certain occupations in the construction industry. Builders receiving construction contracts from the federal government are required to pay these prevailing wages.

However, there is no official determination of a "prevailing wage" in agriculture anywhere in the United States. In actual practice, the so-called prevailing wage has been set at a level far lower than that which most farm workers receive. The net effect of this so-called prevailing wage, therefore, has been to depress the wages which have previously prevailed. Moreover, no adequate provision is made for enforcing the contract, so that actually the workers may be performing the work for considerably less than the wages called for in their contract.

Other provisions of this international agreement require decent living and working conditions, adequate medical care, the eight-hour day and a minimum period of employment. If this agreement were actually enforced, it would represent the first instance in which agricultural workers in this country have been given anything like

the treatment which most industrial workers are accustomed to receive. Of course, this advance, if it occurred, would directly benefit only the Mexican workers, since American workers are, of course, not covered by the agreement. In actual practice, however, the agreement is not enforced, and the net effect has been not only intolerable conditions for the Mexican workers who are brought into this country but lower wages and a depressed standard of living for the American workers with whom they compete.

The situation with regard to the so-called "wetbacks," the illegal immigrants, is a national scandal. Hundreds of thousands of Mexicans enter the country illegally each year. They have absolutely no status under the nation's laws and are in constant fear of being deported. They have absolutely no bargaining power, so that their wages and working conditions are perhaps the worst of

all these groups. Moreover, there is no doubt that the growers prefer to employ wetbacks who are in no position to complain about whatever treatment they may receive.

These are some of the major problems which we believe deserve immediate and thorough investigation if anything is to be done to improve the lives of America's migrant workers and their families.

We believe that perhaps the most significant step that could be taken would be to eliminate all legislative discrimination against farm workers. These workers need protection perhaps more than any other group in America. There is absolutely no moral or economic justification for excluding them from the protection of our social welfare legislation. We recommend that the laws now on the books be amended so that farm workers will be covered under the Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act and all aspects of the social security program, including unemployment compensation, old-age and survivors' insurance, and workmen's compensation. Contractors who are engaged in (Continued on Page 30)

Temporary Disability Benefits

By MORRIS SACKMAN

ON July 1, 1950, New York became the fourth state to pay temporary disability benefits. At that time about 6,000,000 workers became eligible for benefits due to non-occupational disabilities. These benefits range from a minimum of \$10 to a maximum of \$26 per week and are payable for a maximum of thirteen weeks in any period of fifty-two consecutive calendar weeks.

Three states—Rhode Island, California and New Jersey, in that order—enacted such legislation before New York did and one state, Washington, enacted such legislation after New York did.

In Rhode Island, California and New Jersey the states are obligated to assume the fundamental and ultimate responsibility for the payment of disability benefits to the eligible claimants. In Rhode Island this responsibility is vested exclusively in the state and no private or voluntary plan is permitted as a substitute for the state plan. Coverage by the state plan is automatic. In California and New Jersey, the states have the primary responsibility, but an employer, with the consent of his employes, may choose to substitute private or voluntary plans which meet the requirements of the state laws. However, if an employer takes no positive action to secure such coverage for his workers, state coverage becomes automatic.

The administration of these three state laws is vested in the respective state unemployment compensation boards or commissions.

In Rhode Island, California and New Jersey the definitions of "employe," "employer," "employing unit," "benefit rate," "benefit year," etc., are the same for both the determination of disability benefit rates and unemploy-

ment compensation benefit rates. Employment and earnings records kept to fulfill the requirements of the unemployment compensation laws also fulfill the requirements of the disability benefits laws of these states. The administration of disability benefits is consequently uniform with that of unemployment compensation benefits.

In New York the Disability Benefits Law is an amendment to the Workmen's Compensation Law. The Disability Benefits Law is, in emphasis, concept and administration, a workmen's compensation law for injuries and illnesses of a non-occupational nature. It considers that the provision of benefits for these non-occupational disabilities is an employer responsibility, a concept basic to the Workmen's Compensation Law.

The New York Disability Benefits Law is particularly similar to the

Workmen's Compensation Law with respect to the method of covering eligible workers and with respect to administration. There is no mandatory state fund or state machinery which directly administers the claims for disability benefits and which directly pays disability benefits for employed workers who become disabled.

As in workmen's compensation, each employer has the responsibility for covering his workers (if he is a covered employer under the law) and he can do so either through self-insurance, purchasing insurance from a private carrier, or purchasing insurance from a state insurance company (known as the State Insurance Fund) which is a competitor to the private companies in the sale of disability and workmen's compensation insurance.

In addition, he may elect to be covered by a health and welfare fund which he supports by his contributions and which he is obligated to continue to support under a collective bargaining agreement. Such fund can either be an existing plan or a new plan. This provision does not appear in the Workmen's Compensation Law, mainly because workmen's compensation had never been established or administered as a result of a collective bargaining agreement.

The administration of the New York Disability Benefits Law is vested in the Workmen's Compensation Board and is completely divorced from the Unemployment Compensation Board in every administrative respect. There is not the uniformity in the determination of such basic factors as earnings, base years, benefit rates, etc., that exists in Rhode Island, California and New Jersey.

Although this fundamental difference in approach and administration exists between



New York and the other three states, there is little difference in the method of financing these disability benefits. In all four laws the workers are obligated to pay the greatest proportion, if not all, of the costs of these benefits, although employers may pay these contributions for their workers.

In Rhode Island and California the workers alone contribute to the cost of these benefits, while in New Jersey the workers contribute $\frac{3}{4}$ of 1 per cent of payrolls and the employers $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 per cent of payrolls.

In New York the workers have the prime responsibility for contributing to the cost of disability benefits. They are taxed a flat $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent of the first \$60 of their earnings. The employers have only a residual responsibility. They purchase the insurance or contribute to a plan and they must pay the bill for such insurance or plan. The cost to the employers is, therefore, the difference between the amount of the workers' contributions and the total cost of the benefits.

Another source of income became available to the states which had worker contributions to unemployment insurance funds as a result of 1946 amendments to the Social Security Act and the Federal Unemployment Tax Act. These amendments permitted the states that have worker contributions to the unemployment compensation funds to transfer such contributions made in previous years from unemployment compensation funds to disability benefits funds and to withdraw such monies held on deposit with the Federal Unemployment Tax Fund. Rhode Island, California and New Jersey benefited from the amendments because workers in those states had contributed to the respective unemployment compensation funds. They therefore received substantial sums of money.

New York State did not benefit from the amendments since it did not have such worker contributions. This may partly explain the reluctance of New York to depend upon state funds to pay disability benefits and the decision to rely rather on the resources and reserves of private carriers, the State Insurance Fund, and health and welfare and employer plans to pay these benefits.

Rhode Island is the only state in which no private plans or existing plans are permitted as substitutes for the state plan. Employers must pro-

vide disability benefits for their employees in the same way that they provide coverage for unemployment insurance—by payroll deductions payable to the state unemployment compensation commission. There is nothing to prevent an employer from covering his employees in addition for disability benefits through the purchase of group health and accident insurance, through self-insurance or through health and welfare plans established through collective bargaining, but these cannot be used as substitutes for the state plan.

In New Jersey and California private or voluntary plans are permitted as substitutes for the state plans under certain specific conditions.

In New Jersey private plans are those plans which insure with insurance companies recognized by the state insurance department. Existing plans are those plans which are self-insured by the employer or were established before the effective date of the disability benefits law by collective bargaining between employers and unions.

A majority of the employees of an employer must approve a private plan if they are required to contribute. If the employer agrees to make their contribution, no employee approval is required. At any time, but not more often than once in each twelve-month period, 10 per cent of the employees of an employer may petition for an election to end a private plan, and if carried by a majority of the employees, the plan is ended. Any class or classes of employees may be excluded from such plans, in which case they become covered by the state plan, but this must not result in a substantial adverse selection or risks to the state plan.

The benefits paid under such a plan must be at least as favorable as the statutory benefits required by the law and the eligibility requirements shall be no more restrictive than what the law provides.

If the employer makes no application for approval of private plan, he becomes automatically covered under the state plan, and he remains covered by the state plan until such time as he seeks coverage under a private plan and an application for such coverage is approved.

Private plans are subject to the supervision and direction of the Unemployment Compensation Commis-

sion and the State Insurance Department.

In California private plans are called voluntary plans. These include both plans insured by an insurance company and self-insured plans. There is no specific recognition given to plans established through collective bargaining or to plans existing on the effective date of the law. As in New Jersey, voluntary plans are subject to supervision by the Unemployment Compensation Board and the state insurance department.

Employers, employers or both can apply for approval of a voluntary plan by the Unemployment Compensation Board. Irrespective of whether the employees or employers make the contributions required of employees, such voluntary plans must be approved by a majority of the employees of an employer and consent must be given by the employer to make payroll deductions. The rights of employees must be greater and the restrictions no greater under voluntary plans than under the state plan.

In New York there is no state fund which covers workers not covered by employers through private plans. In fact, the failure to cover a worker through a private plan is a failure to comply with the law and makes the employer liable to penalties.

Employers in New York may cover their workers in one or more of the following ways:

(1) By purchasing insurance from a private insurance carrier.

(2) By purchasing insurance from the State Insurance Fund.

(3) By self-insurance.

(4) By coverage under a plan established through collective bargaining, in effect before April 13, 1949, and continuing in effect after July 1, 1950, if such plan pays, as one of the benefits, cash disability benefits.

(5) By coverage under a new health and welfare plan established through collective bargaining if it pays, as one of the benefits, cash disability benefits.

In whatever way each employer may choose to cover his workers, it must be submitted for approval and will be supervised by the chairman of the Workmen's Compensation Board.

It is evident from the foregoing that in California and New Jersey, but even more so in New York, the success or failure of the disability benefits laws will depend upon how well the

private plans are supervised and how well information is exchanged among the carriers and plans and the state funds.

In California, as of November, 1948, from 33 to 36 per cent of the eligible workers in the state were covered by voluntary plans. In New Jersey, as of December, 1949, almost two-thirds of the eligible workers in the state were covered by private plans. In New York all of the eligible workers will be covered by private plans.

In each of these states there is a statutory limitation on the number of weeks of disability benefits to which an eligible worker is entitled from all sources. Yet in none of the laws or regulations of these states is there any provision for the exchange of information among the plans, and between the plans and the funds for the disabled unemployed, concerning previous benefits of a claimant. In none of these states has there been a central office established to accumulate this information for each claimant and to disseminate this information to all approved plans and carriers and to the funds for the disabled unemployed.

THE LAWS of all of the four states provide, in one way or another, for the payment of disability benefits to eligible workers who become disabled while unemployed. This is as it should be since these laws are non-occupational disability benefit laws.

Since Rhode Island has an exclusive state fund from which disability benefits are paid, there is no need for the separation of funds for the payment of these benefits to workers who become disabled and to workers who become disabled when unemployed. The state fund is responsible for paying all eligible workers who become disabled, irrespective of whether or not they are employed at the time of disability.

In California and New Jersey, where private plans were permitted to compete with the state fund, and in New York there arose the problem of how to cover workers who are disabled while unemployed and thus not covered by any plan.

California ruled that a worker covered by a voluntary plan did not lose his coverage during the first two weeks of unemployment or employment with a non-covered employer and established an "extended liability ac-

count." This account is a method for sharing the cost of paying benefits to workers who became disabled after two weeks of unemployment or in the first two weeks of employment in non-covered employment.

The interest on the employer contributions to the Unemployment Compensation Fund in 1944 and 1945 and to the Disability Fund since 1946 have been credited to this account, and all benefit payments made from this account have been charged to this account. If there is a deficit at the end of a year, this is made up by proportionate assessments on the employers covering their employees by voluntary plans, limited to .03 per cent of taxable payrolls.

In New Jersey any covered employee who on the date of the commencement of a period of disability is not entitled to disability benefits under an approved private plan is entitled to disability benefits from the state plan if otherwise eligible. A covered em-

ployee who is unemployed at the time of disability and whose coverage under a private plan has ceased is thus eligible to receive benefits from the state plan.

The State Disability Benefits Fund contains a separate account known as the unemployment disability account from which disability benefits are paid to disabled unemployed. It receives its income from interest on monies withdrawn from the unemployment trust fund. Should the amount of disability benefits for the disabled unemployed exceed the amount of this income in any year, a proportionate assessment is levied against employers covering their employees with private plans, but this assessment is limited to .02 per cent of their taxable payrolls.

The provision of disability benefits in New York for its disabled unemployed followed, in general, the approach of California and New Jersey. However, since there was no state

One to Paris, the Other Home



NELSON CRUIKSHANK

BORIS SHISHKIN

Boris Shishkin, American Federation of Labor economist, who has been on leave for two years while serving in Paris as the director of E.C.A.'s Labor Division, is returning to his post at A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington. Nelson H. Cruikshank, director of A. F. of L. Social Insurance Activities, is replacing Mr. Shishkin in Paris. Mr. Cruikshank has been granted a leave of absence. Taking over Mr. Cruikshank's duties as acting director is William Calvin, who has been doing organizing work for the A. F. of L. in the South during the past year. At one time Mr. Calvin was secretary of the A. F. of L. Metal Trades Department.



WILLIAM CALVIN

fund established to pay any sort of disability benefits, one was created. This is known as the special fund for disability benefits. To build this fund up, a payroll tax of one-tenth of 1 per cent was levied on both employers and employees from January 1 to July 30, 1950.

From this fund, disability benefit payments will be made to those covered workers who are unemployed for more than four weeks after having been in covered employment for at least four weeks. (The carrier covering the employees of each employer is responsible for the payment of benefits during the complete period of disability, for a maximum of thirteen

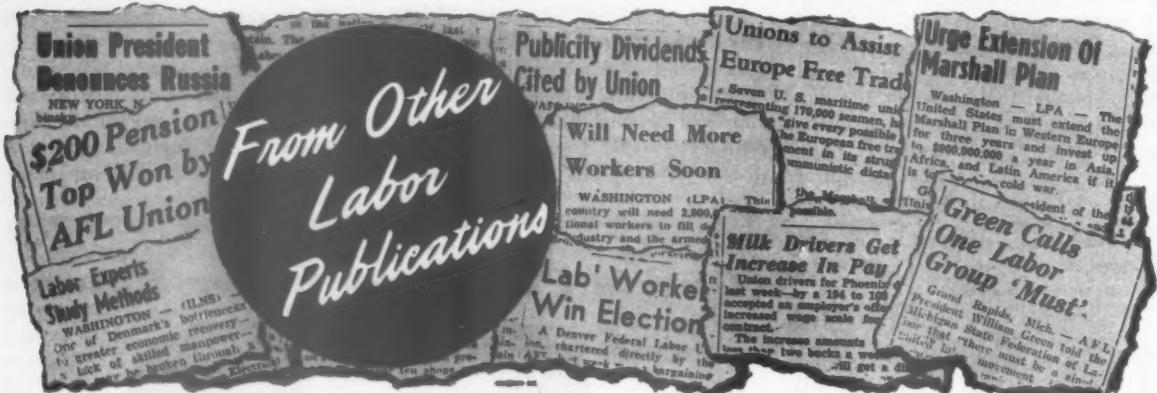
weeks, if the disability occurred within four weeks of unemployment.)

Since there are no employee contributions to a state fund, there is consequently a necessity for otherwise replenishing the fund for the payment of benefits to the disabled unemployed. This is to be accomplished by an assessment on employers or carriers in the same proportion that the taxable payroll of each employer or of the employers covered by each carrier bears to the total of taxable payrolls. There is no limitation on this assessment.

It must be emphasized that the payment of disability benefits to the disabled unemployed is made only to

those disabled unemployed who are receiving unemployment compensation benefits at the time of disability (in New Jersey after the second consecutive week of unemployment and in New York after the fourth consecutive week of unemployment).

If a case were to arise where a worker became disabled while unemployed and he was not receiving unemployment benefits at the time of the disability because he had neglected to apply for his unemployment benefits, he would not be able to receive disability benefits from the state funds for disability benefits, even though he would have been eligible to receive unemployment benefits.



Men and Ideas

From The I.T.U. News

It was the Duke of Wellington, wasn't it, who got off the old bromide about Waterloo being won on the rugby fields of England? And maybe he was right, almost a century and a half ago. But this is another century—and another era. Wars are no longer decided by the toughness of men. Wars are decided by tanks and airplanes and atom bombs—and numbers of men.

Look at that last phrase again. Numbers of men. For a long time Germany had the tanks, airplanes and bombs. Against France, Germany had the numbers of men. But when the Allied nations of World War II acted together, it was our side that had the numbers of men. And we won.

There's a lesson in this for us. It's a particularly important lesson, for we are in the process of falling behind in the race to attract the "numbers of men" to our side.

The lesson is this: Men are attracted by ideas—ideas that promise security for them and their loved ones.

So far we've failed to realize that fact. The expressions of bigotry that attract headlines so often in our press are heard around the world.

This bigotry may cost us our future. Yet this bigotry contradicts our heritage, the heritage of equal opportunity for all.

Moreover, without bigotry we have a tremendous advantage. For ours is a tradition

of trial by jury, of political democracy and of the sanctity of the person.

The totalitarians are using our bigotry to offer the security of sufficient bread. Bread, they hope, will hide the ever-present insecurity of their concentration camps.

We alone can offer bread and freedom. We alone can offer real security. We, if we will, can win the "numbers of men" to our side.

But we cannot achieve this goal if we are embarrassed by bigotry.

Worthy of Free Men

From The Grain Millers' News

American workers have the highest standards of living of wage-earners of any country in the world. Wage-earners in other industrial countries have found it hard to believe that American workers own their own homes, automobiles, washing machines, refrigerators, etc.

Our achievements are due primarily to the fact that American trade unions have steadfastly refused to be lured away from immediate practical gains in wages and hours by any plan for social revolution. We look upon higher incomes and more leisure as a step in the evolution of a better society. We have found maximum production a challenge to our creative abilities and have cooperated with management in increasing output per man-hour. Because we help to produce increased output, we have

a just claim to an equitable share in the returns from that higher output.

Collective bargaining, our machinery for achieving these high standards, rests on the principle that free men—free because of the inherent dignity of each person—have the right to share in free enterprise and to a contract covering their business relations with employers. Contracts are the legal agencies through which businessmen deal with business relations. Workers, through their unions, select officials to represent them in bargaining and put all their economic power back of their chosen representatives.

American workers early learned the need and the value of putting agreements into written form and in putting time and thought into improving the form and the standards written into contracts. Standards are specified in detail, together with the proper machinery for securing their enforcement. They are adapted to the industry and the establishment. Most of them contain security provisions growing out of the principle that the worker's investment in the establishment (his production ability and part of his life) earns for him an equity in the job, seniority, dismissal pay, vacations, medical care, pensions, etc.

All these business arrangements are most valuable to the workers. Some of these arrangements required years in the making and struggles that cost blood, sweat and tears.

Good Officers Vital

From The Laborer

What makes a good union officer good? There are many things. First of all and most important perhaps is his job attitude. He must consider he is an officer to serve, not to rule. The man who, accepting an elective office, wants to lord it over the membership should be voted out at the first opportunity.

The good union officer must be intelligent. It is not necessary that he have a lot of book learning. It is not necessary that he be "educated" as we generally consider the term. He should, however, have a good mind, capable of carrying on logical thought processes, reasoning clearly and deliberating carefully. He should have a good sense of judgment.

Beware of the bullheaded officer. Almost invariably, he will have your local in a turmoil. The ability to achieve a favorable compromise is essential to good union leadership. On the other hand, a too-timid leader will soon lead the membership down the easy path of least resistance and the union will become weak and ineffective.

The good union officer should have a complete knowledge of the work the members perform. Since most officers are elected from the working membership, this is in most instances automatic.

Beware of the "good-time Charlie" officer

who maintains his popularity by glad-handing, who has such a likable personality that no one can avoid falling beneath the spell of his personal charm.

Watch carefully the man without any enemies. A good leader is bound to create at least some slight animosity. Every big ship leaves a wake, and there is no forward progress without some friction.

On the other hand, the pusher type, the man who can't let well enough alone, the man who has a host of enemies and very few friends, will soon create enough friction to cause the spark that can set off the explosion to blow your organization sky-high. Fortunately, this type of man seldom has enough support to get himself elected.

The good union officer has the ability to assume responsibility. He is not just a pounder of conference tables, a tough talker and a leather-lunged speaker and meeting conductor. He has enough personal stature to merit the respect of management, with whom he must from time to time meet across the bargaining table.

His personal integrity must be beyond reproach. His sense of honesty and fair-dealing must be of the highest order. Strangely enough, his external appearance—his shave, his haircut, his clothes and his shoeshine—should be in proper condition. Management, especially, sees the entire labor movement mirrored in each union officer with whom they come in contact, and first impressions are lasting.

Choose your officers critically and observe them and their actions carefully. They are your servants, but they represent you to the world at large. They must be faithful, zealous, honest, intelligent, personable, reasonable and capable. Make certain they are.

Uphill Battle Ahead

From The International Teamster

Labor made tremendous efforts in the 1950 campaign. Without these efforts the reactionary tide might have been much worse. We might have had a bitterly reactionary Congress and lost many more friends than we did had not labor worked as energetically as it did. But this resistance to the reactionary tide does not keep labor from being compelled to fight a long struggle for improvements in the months and years ahead.

Labor faces a two-fold job—first, of making a detailed analysis and taking a hard, unbiased look at the returns and, secondly, of mapping the strategy for 1951 and 1952. Labor has too much at stake to turn its back on politics. Labor cannot let the results—whatever the causes—dissuade it from the path of political service to its members.

The next two years will be an uphill battle, but labor had better buckle down to the task of girding for that battle. A serious defeat is behind us, but victory may be ahead if we all plan carefully and work diligently, as we have all worked before.

Wisconsin's Way

(Continued from Page 15)

It can be said that great strides were made.

In accepting a place within the Non-Partisan Conference framework, the Federation was reaffirming its old principle but in a new way. In March of this year farm organizations in the state had made the original selection of the Senatorial candidate. The State Federation of Labor got behind the farmers' choice. Clearer proof of our desire for labor-farmer cooperation could not have been presented.

The candidate was not successful—for reasons too numerous to mention here—but the State Federation has gained considerable knowledge and experience that will fortify it in its constant campaign to prove to the farmer that labor is the best friend the farmer has.

Through its support and promotion of the St. Lawrence Seaway project, the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor believes that it is doing a service not only to Wisconsin agriculture but to the nation's farmers as a whole. And when the farmers benefit, so does every other part of our national economy.

During the past five years the Wis-

consin State Federation of Labor has been placing considerable emphasis upon public education in Wisconsin. Industry's flooding of the public schools with employer literature and speakers has not gone unnoticed. Nor has the development of the program of so-called business-industry-education days.

Under this plan industry makes arrangements for a half or whole day off for the teachers. The teachers are conducted on tours of plants and businesses, after which they are treated to a fine dinner with the local manufacturers and businessmen as their hosts. Usually a speaker addresses the teachers at these affairs. Needless to say, these speakers are not friendly to organized labor.

We in Wisconsin feel that if the associations of commerce can sell the so-called business-industry-education bill of goods to the superintendent and the staff, that is perfectly okay. But we believe that labor is entitled to similar programs, certainly equal opportunity. That is all we ask. Teachers must have both sides of the story—not just one side—if they are to do an objective teaching job in the class-

rooms. The Wisconsin Federation is pledged to a philosophy that permits all sides to have their day in court.

The matters discussed in this article take a considerable part of the working day of everyone connected with the State Federation of Labor. Underlining the entire structure is the principle of service for economic gains of all affiliated local unions, central labor bodies and internationals operating in the state. The original founder, Frank Weber, and his successors were dedicated to this task as the principal one for all State Federation officers and staff members.

The Federation, besides the two officers making this report, has a field staff of three men assigned to various organizational activities, including building trades organizations, general organization and time-and-motion studies, and full-time directors of recreation, publicity and research. The office force consists of two secretaries and a bookkeeper. Thus is made up what we believe to be one of the largest State Federation forces in the nation—all dedicated to "the Wisconsin idea," the betterment of the community, the state and the nation.

The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor has a big job to do in dairy-land. And it is going to do it!

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Local 165, Laborers, has gained a 7½-cent hourly pay raise for members in an agreement with the Peoria Builders Club and the Peoria Building Contractors Association, Peoria, Ill.

►The Street and Electric Railway Employees in New York City have obtained a \$2-a-day wage increase for 227 bus drivers in a contract with the Children's Bus Service, Inc.

►A. F. of L. International Airline Pilots have secured hourly wage boosts ranging from 35 cents to \$1 in a contract with Pan American World Airways, officials at Seattle, Wash., have announced.

►Local 33, Laundry Workers, has gained wage increases and overtime pay benefits in a contract with laundry and dry cleaning establishments in San Jose, Calif.

►Local 98, Plumbers Union, has obtained an increase in wages and welfare benefits in a contract with the Heating and Piping Contractors Association in Detroit.

►Local 10, Typographical Union, Louisville, Ky., has gained a 7½-cent hourly pay raise for employees of the C. T. Dearing Printing Company.



Skilled bowlers representing Nashville Trades and Labor Council have chalked up scores that would do credit to top men's teams

►Operative Potters in California have won wage increases of 10 cents an hour for more than 2,000 employees in contracts with the California Pottery Guild and Southern California Ceramics, Santa Monica; Pearmen Supply Company, Walnut; and Universal Rundle Sanitary Company, Redlands.

►One thousand A. F. of L. service and maintenance workers in hospitals in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn., have obtained monthly increases in pay which range from \$8.67 to \$24.26.

►Federal Labor Union 20239, South Bend, Ind., has won a 15-cent hourly wage boost for members employed at the South Bend Bait Company.

►Local 42, Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Atlanta, Ga., has obtained a pay increase for 300 employees of Gordon Foods.

►Local 296, Iron Molders, reports winning a 10-cent hourly wage boost in a contract with the Reynolds Metals Company, Springfield, Mo.

►Local 64, Building Service Employees, has announced winning of a 10-cent hourly pay boost and other benefits for window cleaners working in the St. Paul, Minn., area.

►Local 165, Upholsterers, Aurora, Ind., has secured a 10-cent hourly wage raise for 80 employees of the Pierson-Hollowell Company.

►Federal Labor Union 23345 has secured a wage boost of 5 cents an hour for employees of the Dwyer Metal Products Company in Michigan City, Ind.



Trade unionists at Danville, Ill., got together in one-day conference to talk over methods of making public relations serve the labor cause better

Recreation and Labor

(Continued from Page 19)

The question will be asked: "How can a worker assist in the recreation program?" A worker can help in four ways:

(1) *The worker can assist his own local union to organize and conduct recreational activities for its members.*

The plan of organization and administration of union recreation activities is very simple. A union Recreation Committee, with its chairman appointed by the union's president or elected by the members, should be created to sponsor and conduct the recreation activities. The chairman, subject to the approval of the local's president or executive board, should appoint the members of the Recreation Committee. The members should be selected because of their interest in an over-all program of activities.

The duty of the Recreation Committee is to sponsor and be responsible for the conduct of the activities organized among the members of the union. Any sound activity in which a number of members are interested should be sponsored.

Today relatively few local unions have recreation buildings or facilities. In building local union halls in the future, it is urged that provisions for recreation rooms and facilities be included in the plans.

Activities to be sponsored should be determined by the quality of available leadership, the type and size of facility used, budget limitations and the number of people to be served.

(2) *A worker can participate with fellow workers, his family and other people in the community in a broad range of recreation activities.*

He can get behind and assist in campaigns to acquire and develop areas and facilities for recreation and the expansion of a year-round, wide range of recreation activities and help in other ways to make his community worth living in.

(3) *Workers can encourage the cooperation of labor organizations and management in correlating all recreation interests, objectives and activities into one well-rounded and well-synchronized recreation program for all employees.*

There will be difficulties to overcome, but where the desire to work together is genuine on both sides, the

HENRY ILER DIES; A.F.G.E. HEAD

Henry C. Iler, president of the American Federation of Government Employees, died November 29 at Marine Hospital, Baltimore. He was 45 years old. Only recently Mr. Iler had been elected to the union's presidency following the death of James G. Yaden.

A native of Kentucky, Mr. Iler had long enjoyed the friendship of Vice-President Alben W. Barkley, a fellow Kentuckian, and William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

The A.F.G.E. leader was chairman of the U.S. Employees' Compensation Appeals Board at the time of his election to the union office. He had moved up to the \$10,000-a-year federal post from a starting clerk's job in government which paid only \$930 a year. He had also served as special assistant to Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing and was a member of the National Council of the Federal Bar Association.

Mr. Iler was an active figure in the American Federation of Government Employees from the beginning of his career in government. At one time he



interrupted his government service to join the A.F.G.E. as chief organizer.

Shortly after his election to a full term as president of the A.F.G.E. at the union's Omaha convention, he became a patient at the tumor clinic in the Baltimore hospital. He remained at the hospital until his death.

A successor will be appointed by the union's Executive Council. The selection is expected to be made next month when the Council meets in Washington.

difficulties can be surmounted and successful cooperation can exist. It must be borne in mind that under no centralized administrative control yet devised has there been a complete absence of problems growing out of combinations of different interests. Fortunately, any difficulty can be discussed and solved if there is a desire on the part of those involved to work out harmonious relationships.

THE activities sponsored should be broad enough to include every activity that a sufficient number of workers desire. Each activity should have a committee, such as a bowling committee and so on, to conduct the specific activity. The chairman should make a careful selection of committee personnel and should meet with the plant recreation council monthly.

Experience has shown that administrative machinery runs more smoothly if the employees enjoy the control of their own recreation program. Programs which provide activities offering participation according to individual interest will also provide opportunity for the development of leadership qualities. To be successful, there should be a sincere

and cooperative spirit free from any selfish interests and a better understanding of the need for clear thinking and active doing.

(4) *The problems of retirement, pensions and old age are increasing at a rapid rate.*

Many persons now being retired have been so busy earning a living that they have never learned how to recreate and relax and have a feeling of insecurity. It is vital that a worker learn how to recreate or have a recreational hobby before he retires.

There are in many communities forces at work which cause damage to both body and mind. Beneath all national or international problems, both economic and industrial, there is one great problem which never must be lost sight of. It is keeping up a high quality both of mind and body.

If human quality goes down, other problems go from bad to worse. If human quality goes up, other problems will tend to solve themselves.

One of the effective ways of keeping human quality up is more and better recreation and the realization that recreation is an important part of a complete life.

Our Own Forgotten People

(Continued from Page 22)

furnishing migrant workers to farm operators should be required to be licensed. Where they engage in interstate operations, their activities should be regulated by the federal government. We also recommend that the Interstate Commerce Commission be empowered to regulate and supervise interstate transportation of migrant workers.

At the present time there is an advisory committee to the Farm Placement Service of the U.S. Employment Service which is known as the Special Farm Labor Committee. This committee is composed entirely of farm operators, canners and other associated with the processing of farm products. It operates not only on the national level but also on state and local levels. This committee plays a large part in determining the recruitment and placement policies of the Farm Placement Service.

There is no reason whatsoever for such a committee to represent only employer interests. We suggest that the committee be reorganized so that there will be an equal number of members representing labor, management and the public.

As already indicated, one of the most serious aspects of the migrant labor problem is that most migrant workers and their families are deprived of the opportunity to utilize community facilities. In addition, most of them are ineligible for public assistance.

The American Federation of Labor recognizes that it would be most difficult for the communities in which there are large seasonal concentrations of migrant workers to assume these responsibilities unaided. We therefore urge that federal funds be provided on a grant-in-aid basis to counties, cities and other local communities to provide community facilities, schools, health facilities and also, where needed, public assistance for migrant workers and their families.

Education of children in migrant families must be considerably improved. The following steps should be taken toward this end:

- (1) Shortened school terms in rural areas should not be permitted.
- (2) The practice of excusing children for employment in agriculture

during certain periods of the year should be prohibited.

(3) Although there has been considerable progress in recent years, we need a further improvement in our rural schools. It seems certain that federal aid will be needed to accomplish this objective.

(4) Even with such improvement in rural educational facilities, migrant children will still have special educational needs which should be met. Rural schools in areas where there is a large concentration of migrants should be given specific federal and state aid in order to develop methods and materials specially designed for educating migrant children. To the extent that local school systems cannot provide adequate education for migrant children, we urge that federal funds be used to set up mobile schools for them.

When the Housing Act of 1949 was under consideration, the American Federation of Labor urged that this omnibus legislation include a large-scale housing program for farm workers. The act as passed, in addition to authorizing a program of loans to farmers for housing, provides that 10 per cent of the funds for public housing shall be used for building decent housing for low-income families in rural non-farm communities.

Despite the clear mandate of Congress that housing be provided for this group, very little attention has been given to this program. We therefore urge the President's Commission on Migratory Labor to recommend that the Public Housing Administration set up a division, equipped with adequate funds and staffed by competent personnel, to secure the completion of this most-needed program at the earliest possible date. We also urge that the farm labor camps which are now under the administration of the Public Housing Administration be improved and that additional camps be built in centers throughout the country where there are large concentrations of migrant farm workers.

With regard to the specific problems involved in the importation of farm workers, we advance the following recommendations:

- (1) The labor organizations of farm workers both in this country and in Mexico should be given full status

HOW

THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT ROBS THE WORKER OF HIS RIGHTS

If you missed our November issue, we suggest that you obtain a copy without delay and read the documented case against the vicious Taft-Hartley Act. Learn for yourself how Taft-Hartley enables anti-labor employers whose reactionary attitudes are strictly Nineteenth Century to stifle collective bargaining, cripple organizations of their employees and destroy existing unions. The shocking facts are in the November issue, starting on Page 8. Get a copy today. To keep fully informed, be a regular reader of

THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

in a consultant capacity whenever international agreements providing for importation of farm workers are considered.

(2) There should be no importation of foreign workers unless an actual or clearly impending shortage of domestic farm workers can be conclusively shown. This means no American farm workers available to do the necessary work even after the workers have been offered employment at a decent wage and under decent living and working conditions. Whenever possible, hearings should be held at which all interested parties may testify before a finding is made that there is a shortage requiring importation of foreign workers. The actual investigation should be made by a tripartite board in which employers, workers and the government are represented.

(3) Any contracts which result from an international agreement for the importation of farm workers should be strictly enforced. Such contracts should require the payment of the actual prevailing wage (but not less than the 75-cent minimum established by the Fair Labor Standards Act), rather than some fictitious one, and should permit the alien workers to join American labor organizations for the period during which they are employed in this country. We strongly recommend that an immediate study be made to work out a feasible method for determining a prevailing wage (by crop or area or both) for agricultural workers.

(4) It should be made unlawful to employ anyone who has entered this country illegally. In this connection, adequate funds should be given to the Immigration and Naturalization Service to patrol the borders and prevent large-scale illegal immigration.

Asia's Revolution

(Continued from Page 6)

stands on the threshold of an industrial development which can in many ways parallel that of the United States. Most of the countries are rich in natural resources. Except for Japan, China and India, Asia is not over- but underpopulated. The opportunity is great—if the shackles of colonial economies can be broken.

Asia wants to be food self-sufficient. But the colonial economies of many Asian countries are such that the land is devoted to cash-crop cultivation and the people do not raise sufficient food to feed themselves. Thus Europe may prosper, but Asia has decayed under such a system of colonialism.

Asia is terribly illiterate. In countries such as India 95 per cent of the industrial workers are illiterate. The general literacy rate runs only from 10 to 15 per cent. When people can't read newspapers and have no radio, it is difficult indeed to develop an organic democracy based on the expressed will of a people who know nothing about their own political affairs. In Indonesia the former Dutch rulers left a country with shockingly high illiteracy. So too in Indo-China is illiteracy a major problem. Only in Ceylon, Burma, the Philippines and Japan is literacy a real factor that indicates the possibility of strong democratic growth.

Agricultural, peasant Asia groans

under burdens of extortionate debt which frequently are such that peasants are born in debt, live in debt and die in debt. Company stores, village storekeepers and grasping money-lenders fatten on the hide of the workers and peasants. These are not foreign imperialists but local petty capitalists, and from what I have seen in some countries of Asia, they suck more blood out of the working people than any foreign imperialist ever did!

Thus the challenge to the democratic revolution in Asia is the need for improved agricultural techniques; for changes in the crops and the economic system; in the utter necessity for mass literacy and mass media for exchange of information; for free trade unions, credit unions and cooperative unions.

The trade unions of Asia are the vanguard of the democratic revolution. The trade union functions at once as an instrument to secure economic gains, as an educational institution and as a political arm for the workers and peasants. Free trade unions in Asia are and will be increasingly leaders in the demand that governments provide free and public education so that illiteracy will sink into the past. The trade unions of Asia as they grow will realize increasing economic strength, reflected in the perfection of collective bargaining agreements guaranteeing a higher standard

of living for both industrial workers and plantation workers.

The path of the American workers has blazed the way for our Asian brothers—free trade unions, free credit unions, free cooperative unions and free political action, divorced from preconceived ideologies or fancy theories.

The problem today, however, is that while the democratic revolution in North America was able to develop sufficiently to defend itself from external aggression, unhappily the newly liberated countries of Asia are being subverted from within by the

**Free people, remember this axiom:
We may acquire liberty, but it is
never recovered if it is once lost.**

—Rousseau.

Communists and attacked from without, as in Indo-China, by Communist bandits and guerillas. Perhaps that is the real significance of Korea, for the resistance to aggression there is a clear warning to that cheap reactionary, Joseph Stalin, that free Americans will tolerate no choking to death of the democratic revolution in Asia.

Free American labor demands that the new embryonic democracies of Asia retain their freedom, that democracy be given a chance, for we know that if the democratic way is given half a chance and organization develops, the free workers and peasants of Asia will in time enjoy living standards and a human dignity which today are still but a dream.

Motorists, Look for This Sign

You Earn Your Money
the Union Way.

Spend Your Money
the Same Way.



WHAT THEY SAY

David Dubinsky, president, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union—



Communism is the deadly enemy of freedom, peace and progress in every country and on every continent. In the struggle against Communist tyranny there can be no neutrals. We have reached the stage where there are no longer the old convenient divisions of pro-Communist, anti-Communist and non-Communist. Today there can only be anti-Communists or pro-Communists. The American Federation of Labor and our own union have always realized the acute menace of communism and all other brands of totalitarianism. We only wish a lot of people who get red in the face shouting that they are liberals would have been as wide awake to this great threat to our liberties as we have always been. True liberals are the ones who should be in the forefront of the fight against the Communists.

Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor—I would like to help change



popular prejudices with respect to older persons. There is a disposition to think people have grown old merely because they have passed a certain birthday, without reference to their health and vigor. There is a widespread notion that, at a fixed time, older workers should give up their places to younger ones, and that without reference to productive capacity. We need the devotion of all our people if democracy is to win out. We must do nothing to let any segment of our population feel rejected or unwanted. The spirit of older workers was never so high as during the war when employers went into old folks' homes, recruited their residents for essential jobs, even de-

signed jobs around them. If we could achieve full employment in wartime for destructive purposes, we should be able to achieve full employment in peacetime for constructive purposes. That means we must utilize all the skills of all our workers, old and young. Our economy should function so that the capacity and devotion of all our people can be put to good use. That is full employment.

Paul H. Douglas, U.S. Senator from Illinois—The political machine did



give something to the dispossessed. And for men whose needs were ignored in other quarters, this something seemed like everything. But while the machine gave with one hand, with the other one it seized the instrument by which men who needed help could get it, not as a charity handout but as a right of citizenship. It seized their independent vote and mortgaged it for use in a chain reaction of trading which went like this: First, the machine needed money to buy its Christmas baskets and to pay the bills it picked up. Second, money could be found in either the upperworld of the respectable monopolists or the underworld of the disreputable ones, both of which were ready to advance funds in return for special rights to break or to frame the law. Third, those rights being granted, part of the money they advanced went into the pockets of some machine leaders as a brokerage fee for their services; the other part went into the purchase of the goods and services that won the votes that maintained the machine at the helm of political authority. Fourth, with its political authority ratified, it tapped the funds of government for the enrichment of its own members and it honored its promise to grant special rights to the monopolists of the upperworld, who in the use of those rights gained a return ten times over on their first advance of

funds to the machine. And so it went in city after city, as Lincoln Steffens and the early muckrakers showed long ago. In all the cities the object was the same—to use the process of democratic government, as expressed in the right to vote, to defeat itself.

A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—



The American Negro unionists realize perhaps more than any other single group in American society the need for advancing and perpetuating a free and democratic society. The American Negro rejects totalitarianism, be it Fascist or Communist. He will continue to cast his lot with democratic society. In the light of the fact that the problem of color is one of the great problems of the world and insofar as the problem of color is still one of the great problems of the American people, the American Negro unionist will continue to challenge all non-democratic institutions, some of which are still in the labor movement, and all non-democratic practices which still exist in the U.S. In so doing the American Negro hopes to contribute a higher degree of spiritual leadership for the benefit of all the American people and make it possible for the United States to take the lead in the great fight for democracy with moral and spiritual dignity and integrity.

Sir Gladwyn Jebb, British representative at U.N.—The Soviet use of



upside-down language has complicated the work of the Security Council. After all, the proceedings of any organization must necessarily be affected when one member insists upon regarding jet black as snow white. But even so the work and functions of the Security Council should not be underestimated. It may be said with truth that, even if the Security Council is not as effective a body as it was hoped it would be, it is still fulfilling a vital role in the preservation of peace.

The Tree's Wish

"IT'S like this every year," said the Great Tree of the Forest.

"You mean every year this happens?" asked the Young Shoot incredulously. "It's hard to believe. Do you suppose it will happen to me?"

"In time, in time, no doubt," said the Great Tree. "I've seen little fellows like you get cut. Your type is usually for the families who live in little places. Then ones like our neighbor there," he said, pointing to a lovely pine about ten feet high, "that size usually goes to families who live in houses. Larger ones like the cedar there are good for schools and churches."

"Yes, I understand," said the little tree. "But what about you?"

"Oh, I just stay here," answered the Great Tree. "You see, I am the oldest tree in this part of the forest. I'm too big for any place, except perhaps a town square, and I'm never chosen because my branches have been trimmed so high that I wouldn't be good to hold ornaments. You see, a Christmas tree has to be able to hold the lovely, dainty tinsel and balls and shiny things which are used to decorate them. In my youth all my lower branches were cut off. Now my trunk is too bare."

"Years ago," the Great Tree continued, "I dreamed that I might some day be chosen to bear the gifts and lovely decorations for children, but I guess I may as well give up now. I'm too old and too big. I'm now here to give courage to the little trees like you who are afraid of leaving the forest or who are afraid they won't be chosen to go to the market places. I guess I serve this way." He gave a sigh.

"But how do you know it's pleasant being a Christmas tree?" asked the Young Shoot. "I think I will be happier here in the forest, at least for another year or so."

"Oh, it's pleasant here. But the birds tell me that the trees in the market places have an exciting time. After they have been chosen and taken to homes or to schools or churches, or wherever they go to be Christmas trees, they are dressed like royalty, all shining and beautiful, all proud and gay. Little children gather around them with wondering eyes. Even grown-ups look at them with rapture, filled with memories of their childhood days. Oh, yes. I'm sure it is a fine thing to be a Christmas tree. But hush! Here come the woodchoppers again. The men want to



fill both trucks before dark, I heard them say."

"I hope they won't see me," whispered the little Young Shoot. "I think I'm too young to leave the forest, even for such a wonderful career."

"Then bend over a little toward me," warned the Great Tree. "I will stretch up tall and make you look smaller than you really are. They will probably not even notice you."

"But suppose they cut you?" cried the Young Shoot.

"They won't," the Great Tree answered. "The foreman has already told them to leave me alone. You know, he's been coming to the forest every year since he's been big enough to swing an axe. He won't disturb me."

The workers set about their tasks. The foreman marked out the trees to be cut and the woodcutters went to work. Their axes and saws filled the fresh country air with a wild and terrible sound. As the trees were carried out and loaded on the trucks they waved their branches gaily at the Great Tree, who tossed his arms at them in a gesture of farewell. The Young Shoot waved timidly, too, fearful that the foreman might see him and mark him to be cut. Nevertheless, he was half-filled with envy as his friends were chosen.

The foreman walked around him a couple of times. Then he remarked to one of his assistants:

"This little fellow isn't so bad. He has a nice, even shape."

"Bend toward me!" whispered the Great Tree to the Young Shoot.

Walking closer, the assistant said:

"Even shape? It looks lopsided to me."

"Skip it then," said the foreman. "There are plenty more and bigger ones, too."

He moved over toward the Great Tree.

"Want us to get to work on the big fellow?" asked the assistant.

"No," the foreman declared. "This great tree has been here ever since I can remember. My dad said it was here before he was born. And his grandfather remembers it. No, we'll leave him. He's part of the forest here."

As darkness fell, the trucks, well-loaded with the fragrant trees, drove off, leaving a silence in the woods and many empty places where trees had been.

"Well, here we are," said the Great Tree to Young Shoot. "Another year. I'm the oldest tree in the forest. I'll never know the joy of being a Christmas tree. I'll never sparkle with lights. I'll never wear delicate spun-glass jewels. I don't know whether I should be sad or happy, but here I am. I always feel so lonesome after the others have gone."

"I'm still here," said the little Young Shoot. "Thank you for telling me to bend over. I was afraid I was going to be taken. I'll be here to keep you company. Maybe the birds will soon come to tell us about our friends. I hope they will find happy homes and look their best for Christmas. I hope all of them give the message of love and good cheer, wherever they may go."

"They will, they will," the Great Tree assured the little one. "Now," he continued, "we must sleep. I think I'll dream my old dream—how wonderful it would be to be a Christmas tree!"

As he went to sleep the gentle snow quietly decked him and his little friend with the loveliest of jewels, snowflakes of crystal purity, which caught the glow of the stars at night and the glistening beams of the sun in the winter sunshine. And those who walked through the woods paused at the sight of the breath-taking beauty of the monarch of the woods, the Great Tree of the Forest, and his little companion, who wished the world a Merry Christmas.

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